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THE PENROSE MS OF *LA RESURRECTION*

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THE NEWLY discovered MS of *La Resurrection* first came to the attention of scholars in March, 1929, when it was offered for sale at the London auction rooms of Messrs. Hodgson & Co. Through the courtesy of E. P. Goldschmidt & Co., I secured permission from the new owner, Boies Penrose II, Esq., not only to examine the MS but also to make a complete photostatic copy of it and to publish such portions as seemed desirable. As will appear later, the MS is one of unusual literary interest and value.

Description of the Penrose Canterbury MS before it was rebound

Vellum, 220 folios (older foliation only on fol. 13); $14\frac{3}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ in.; normally in quires of 12. Bound in boards and half-leather, with two fly-leaves of paper showing no water mark; binding broken. Written throughout in clear, large bookhand, ca. 1300, possibly by a single scribe, but more probably by three scribes trained in the same school. Large, flourished initials (3 or 4 lines tall) in blue and red mark the beginnings of all items except the last two; and smaller, 2-line initials mark off sections of each. A few initials have been overlooked by the limner (cf. Q6, fol. 4^r), and some words and some whole lines have been omitted by the text writer. The margins contain many corrections in crayon and a few by a later hand in ink. Although the MS is not foliated, the makeup is clear, both from the sewing and from the catchwords and signatures. The signatures do not, however,

form a consecutive series, and it is therefore possible that the volume was originally conceived, not as a unit, but as separate booklets (see below under Contents). The writing was certainly done while the leaves were in loose sheets: on many pages it runs closer to the central fold of the leaf than would have been possible in a bound volume.

There is no doubt that this is the same MS which was in the library of Christ Church, Canterbury, and was among those sent in 1508 to be repaired; cf. M. R. James, *Ancient libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, especially pages 152 and 158. On page 158 the MS is listed as number "161 Historia troianorum et Grecorum," and the beginning of the second folio is given as "dendum eum."

At the top of fol. 1 is the inscription "Guilielmo Lambardo dedit Stephanus Teobauld 1582." There can be little doubt that some member of the family—probably John (died 1577) or his father Richard—obtained the MS as part of the spoils of Christ Church.

In his recent edition of the *Brut* (SATF, 1938) Professor Ivor Arnold erred in giving fols. 84–95 as containing the *Prophecies*; he was relying on the foliation of the photostats, which does not count the two blank leaves 11 and 12.

Since my collation was made, the MS has been rebound and foliated. The misplaced leaves of Q19 have been set right, but fol. 17 has been numbered 16 and the foliation skips from 155 to 160. These two errors make a difference from my foliation of one between 15 and 155 and of three between 160 and the end.

Contents of MS

I. Q1 (fol. 1–12). *Hystoria troianorum et Grecorum* (rubricated title); a copy of Dares Phrygius identical in contents with the usual version but differing widely in phraseology and arrangement. The text ends near the foot of col. 2, fol. 10^r; (fol. 10^v and 11 and 12 are blank). The text is written in double columns of 26 lines, ca. 17 letters wide. The hand, though of the same type as that of the *Brut*, which follows, seems slightly different (especially in *g* and the symbol for *and*).

II. Qq2–8 and 10–14; all 12s except 11 and 14, which are 11s.¹

¹ Q9 is an inserted quire; see III below.

These twelve quires contain Wace's *Brut*. There is no heading, but a 4-line flourished K begins line 1:

Kiuult oir q uult sauoir

There is also a 2-line initial at l. 10. The text is in two columns of 25 lines each. The ink—and apparently the hand—changes at the beginning of Q3. The first hand resumes at the beginning of Q4 and completes the *Brut*. Crayon corrections are not infrequent; cf. in Q2 fols. 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. Catchwords are on fols. 36, 48, 60, 72, 84, 108, 120, 131, 143, and 155. The first six leaves of each quire are marked with signatures: in Q2, with Roman numerals, in the others, with the letters a-f accompanied by a stroke (vertical or horizontal) above, below, before, or behind the letter. The *Brut* (complete) ends on fol. 166^r (Q14, fol. 11^r); 11^v is blank and 12 was cut away before binding, as its mate, fol. 1, is pasted to fol. 2. Q11 lost its fol. 12 before or during the process of writing, as there is no loss of text; and the catchword is on fol. 11^v—the strip remaining from fol. 12 is visible after fol. 11.

III. Q9. As stated above, Q9 is an inserted quire. It consists of 12 leaves (fols. 86–97) and contains a version of the *Prophecies of Merlin* in French verse of 12 syllables. A scribbled note in the margin of 85^v (Q8, fol. 1^v), opposite l. 7734 of Wace's text, indicates the insertion of the *Prophecies* ("Nota prophecia"), and l. 7735 is written at the end of the text of the *Prophecies* on fol. 97^r. There is no heading, but the poem begins (with a 2-line initial) thus:

Enplorant comenza ses sermons
E dist sa profecie si cum nus la diroms.

This poem is apparently not known to recent writers on the *Prophecies of Merlin*; at least it is not mentioned by Miss Paton in her monumental treatise. But Francisque Michel² noted as the first translation of the *Prophecies* into a vernacular an Anglo-Norman translation in 8-syllable verse inserted in the Durham MS of Wace (Durham C. IV. 27, fol. 43^v, col. 1)—obviously not our version—and a second twelfth-century translation, also in Anglo-Norman, in 12-syllable verse. He records (p. lxiv) two MSS of this: Lincoln Cathedral MS

²*Galfridi de monemuta vita Merlini*, ed. F. Michel et T. Wright (Paris, 1837).

AI, 8, fols. 48^r-57^v and a fragment³ in MS Harley 1605, fols. 19^r-25^v. The Lincoln MS begins: "Vortigers est assis, que reis est de Bretuns."

A study and edition of this text is now under way at the University of Chicago.

Q9 has no signatures and was apparently written, not by the scribe who wrote the *Brut*, but by the one who wrote *Dares* and *Les Estatus du Roi Edward* (see below).

IV. Qq15 and 16. Following the *Brut*, the MS has two quires of 12 (167-178) and 6 (179-184) leaves respectively (without signatures, but with catchword on fol. 178), containing the "Statute of Westminster the First": "Ces sunt les estatus le Roy Edward fiz le Roy Henri fez a Westmuster a sun premer parlement general a pres sun coronement," etc. This, like all the pieces except the *Prophecies*, is written in double columns (26 lines). It is in the same careful script as *Dares* and the *Prophecies*. A rapid comparison of the text with that published in *The statutes of the realm* indicates that, except for the occasional occurrence of blanks for omitted words, it is very accurate. The text ends, without the usual colophon, at the top of col. 2, fol. 183^r (Q16, fol. 5), 183^v and 184 being left blank.

V. Qq17-20 (fol. 185-220). This section of the MS, written apparently by the hand that wrote all the *Brut* except the third quire, differs from the rest in that the four items which it contains are not separated from one another by blank pages or assigned to separate quires. Although no signatures are visible, catchwords on fol. 196 (here apparently by the corrector) and fol. 208 bind the three quires together as a scribal unit.⁴

a) The first of the four items is the Anglo-French poem known as *La petite philosophie*,⁵ of which six other MSS were listed and discussed by Paul Meyer (see *Romania*, XXIX, 72 ff., and references there to earlier discussions). Our MS agrees with MS Rawlinson Poetry 241 in having a prologue and an ending not found elsewhere.

³ Cf. Ward, *Cat. of romances*, I, 272 ff.

⁴ Folios 219, 220 are the conjugate leaves of the outside sheet of a gathering (fol. 1 and 12) and have merely slipped away from the ten leaves of the preceding gathering. Both the context and the catchword on fol. 208 prove that fol. 219 belongs between fol. 208 and fol. 209.

⁵ Published for the Anglo-Norman Text Society by Dr. W. H. Trethewey (Oxford, 1939).

La petite philosophie begins at the top of col. 1, fol. 185 (Q17, fol. 1), without a heading:

Mult uolunters escriuereie
E multes choses enditereie.

At the top of fol. 192^v, col. 1 (fol. 8 of the quire) the scribe copied six lines that belong in the same position in fol. 191 (and are duly found there). Discovering his mistake, he erased the first two of the repeated lines and wrote the lines which properly follow over the erasure; the other four erroneous lines he merely cancelled with diagonal strokes and *va* above the beginning of the first and *cat* above the end of the fourth.

In fol. 204^v the scribe ceased to copy at the middle of col. 1, leaving blank 1½ columns of this page, the whole of 205^r and the first col. of fol. 205^v. Strangely enough he ceased to write after the *f* of some word (perhaps *firmament*) and resumed in the middle of a sentence. *La petite philosophie* ends four lines from the top of col. 2, fol. 211^r.

b) *Les quatre filles deu* begins immediately, after one line of space, without a heading:

Des quatre sorurs vus voil dire
Ke sunt filles deu nostre sire.

Our text is closely akin to that printed by Fr. Michel, *Libri psalmorum versio antiq. gall.*, pp. 364 ff.,⁶ but a remark by Paul Meyer (*Romania*, XV, 352, n. 1) suggests that it is even more like the version in MS 50 of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (which I have not seen).⁷ The poem ends in our MS six lines from the foot of col. 2, fol. 213^v.

c) It is immediately followed—with no indication of separation except a 2-line initial in color, like those regularly used to mark new paragraphs—by a 28-line fragment of an Anglo-Norman poem on the *Apocalypse*, which occupies the rest of this column and column 1 of fol. 214. The fragment begins:

Mult nus ama dampne de
Quant partie de sun segre.
Par saint Johan nus desceuéri.
E volait demustrer par lui.

⁶ On the general subject of this *debat* cf. Hope Traver, *The Four Daughters of God* ("Bryn Mawr monographs," No. 6 [1907]) and Gröber's *Grundriss*, II, i. 690.

⁷ Michel printed from MS Arundel 292 of the British Museum.

It ends:

De dous pars fu le liure escrit
Ke estoit grānt nun petit
Set grānz seals iout pendu
Si cum les seinz lunt entendu
Escutez lur intentiun
Entendez bien lur raisun.

This is followed by "Vidi in dextram sedentis librum scriptum intus et foris signatum sigillis septem et c." The last eight lines of the text correspond roughly to the passages printed by Paul Meyer from MSS Roy. D. xiii, fol. 8, Toulouse, fol. 9, and Copenhagen, p. 14, in *Romania*, XXIV, 196 and 207.

d) At the top of column 2 (fol. 214^r) begins the fragment of the Resurrection play with a 3-line initial, red and blue. It finishes four lines from the top of the second column of fol. 220^r.

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POESIE POPULAIRE ET POESIE LITTERAIRE

MARCEL FRANÇON

JE N'AI pas l'intention ici d'examiner le terme de *poésie populaire* ni d'étudier en quoi il se justifie. Je voudrais seulement indiquer que les chants dits traditionnels, le plus souvent anonymes, et transmis oralement, ont laissé des traces dans la poésie littéraire et que c'est ainsi que s'expliquent certaines allusions contenues dans les vers de Villon, de Marot et de Ronsard.

Dans le *Grand testament*, Villon, méditant sur la mort, s'écrie :

Moy, pouure mercerot de Renes,
Mourray ie pas?

N'y a-t-il pas là le souvenir d'une chanson populaire qui semble avoir été très répandue : La chanson du petit mercelot?² Il est vrai que nous n'avons pas trouvé de chansons où il s'agisse d'un mercelot de Rennes; mais il est possible qu'une variante donne ce détail. De même, J.-B. Weckerlin a publié une version de la même chanson dont voici le premier vers :

Il estoit trois mercerots.³

Rappelons aussi, d'ailleurs, que la mention de la ville de Rennes⁴ se retrouve dans un grand nombre de chansons populaires, presque aussi souvent que Nantes et plus fréquemment que Paris. Pour Marot, le cas est plus net encore.

"Clément Marot," nous dit E. de Beaurepaire-Froment, "goûtait

¹ A. Jeanroy, *Oeuvres de François Villon* (Paris, 1934), p. 32, huitain 42, vss. 5 et 6.
² Cf. I. Siciliano, *François Villon et les thèmes poétiques du moyen âge* (Paris, 1934), p. 73.

³ Cf. Jakob Ulrich, *Französische Volkslieder* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 71, et E. Rolland, *Recueil de chansons populaires* (Paris, 1883), I, 165.

⁴ *L'ancienne chanson populaire en France* (Paris, 1887), p. 158. Villon fait allusion ailleurs, à des chansons populaires :

Et chanté bien, "Ma douce amour!" — *Testament*, 106, 4, p. 59.

S'elle eust le chant "Marionnette." — *Testament*, 166, 5, p. 88.

Or de "Ouurex vostre huys, Guillemette!" — *Testament*, 166, 7, p. 88.

⁵ E. Rolland (Paris, 1887), V, 13; J. Ulrich, p. 112; L. Pineau, *Le Folk-lore du Poitou* (Paris, 1892), pp. 267, 275; Ch. Guillon, *Chants populaires de l'Ain* (Paris, 1883), p. 455; J. Poueigh, *Chansons populaires des Pyrénées françaises* (Paris-Auch, 1926), I, 274; Th. F. Crane, *Chansons populaires de la France* (New York and London, 1891), p. 249.

à ce point la poésie populaire qu'un recueil de chansons populaires fut, ainsi qu'on le verra dans la bibliographie, publié par ses soins.⁵ Dans la célèbre épigramme *J'ay une lettre lentre toutes eslite*,⁶ Marot nous confie:

La chanson est, sans en dire le son,
Alegez moy, douce plaisant' brunette.

Dans une chanson, "D'un nouveau dard je suis frappé," de la même époque (avant 1527, suivant M. Villey), Marot se sert du même refrain:

Et remede je n'apperçoy
A ma douleur secrete,
Fors de crier: "Allegez moy,
Doulee plaisant' brunette."⁷

Ne peut-on pas voir là l'indication d'une chanson populaire dont Marot laisse de côté la musique, le *son*, et dont il ne citerait que les paroles?

Ph.-A. Becker a déjà signalé ce refrain⁸ et, là encore, la blonde douce et plaisante nous paraît un thème populaire. Déjà, au XII^e et au XIII^e siècle, des motets sont faits de chansons où nous relevons les mêmes termes:

Adiès sunt ces sades brunetes
Douches et plaisans.⁹

La doucete
La sadete
Brunete.¹⁰

L'expression *alegez moi* se retrouve aussi:

Alegiés moi mes grans doulours.¹¹
Alegiés vostre ami.¹²

⁵ *Bibliographie des chants populaires français*, 3^e édit. (Paris, 1910), p. xii et p. 10.

⁶ *Oeuvres de Clément Marot*, éd. G. Guiffrey (Paris, 1929), IV, 276-77.

⁷ *Oeuvres* (Paris, 1931), V, 183.

⁸ *Clément Marot, sein Leben und seine Dichtung* (Munich, 1925), p. 277. Cf. R. Eitner, *Bibliographie der Musik-Sammelwerke des XVI and XVII Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1877), pp. 94, 301, 516.

⁹ G. Raynaud and H. Lavoix fils, *Recueil de motets français des XII^e et XIII^e siècles* (Paris, 1881), pp. 254-55. Nous nous étonnons de ce que dit G. Raynaud dans l'introduction (I. xviii): "C'est d'abord la chanson d'amour dans toute sa banalité avec portrait toujours identique de la dame: *blont chief, eus vairs rians. ...*"

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 241-42.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 23.

M. Laumonier¹³ a déjà fait remarquer que l'incipit de la chanson populaire cité par Marot se lit dans un sonnet de Ronsard:¹⁴

Je vy tes yeux dessous telle planette
Qu'autre plaisir ne me peut contenter,
Sinon le jour, sinon la nuit chanter,
Allege moy, douce plaisant brunette.¹⁵

Muret, commentant ce sonnet, fait remarquer que "c'est une vieille et vulgaire chanson, depuis renouvellée par Clément Marot." Mais Ronsard s'est encore souvenu de Marot, quand il a écrit:

Je luy ferois sous la coudrette
Sa couleur blanche vermeillette.¹⁶

M. Laumonier rapproche ces vers de ceux de Marot:

Mais quand à mon gré vous auroit
En ma chambre seulette
Pour me venger, je vous ferois
La couleur vermeillette.

Et ces vers appartiennent justement à la chanson "D'un nouveau dard je suis frappé" dont nous avons déjà parlé, et les vers de Marot nous rappellent une poésie populaire:

La belle, si je te tenai
Là-bas dans la prairie,
Je t'y ferais changer
De couleur et de mine.¹⁷

Cette chanson populaire est composée sur le thème de l'occasion manquée. Dans certaines versions, au lieu de *la belle*, c'est *brunette* qu'on chante. Ainsi tous les éléments de la chanson et de l'épigramme

¹³ P. Laumonier, *Ronsard poète lyrique*, 2^e édit. (Paris, 1923), p. 506.

¹⁴ *Oeuvres complètes*, édit. P. Laumonier (Paris: Hachette, 1925), IV, 18. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 132: "Soubz la chanson d'Allegez moy Madame."

¹⁵ Variante de 1584 et 1587: "Allege moy ma plaisante brunette." Cf. l'édition de M. G. Cohen (Paris, 1938), I, 8.

¹⁶ *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris: Hachette, 1930), VI, 72.

¹⁷ Ch. Guillon, p. 29. M. J. Tiersot, dans les *Chansons populaires recueillies dans les Alpes françaises* (Grenoble-Moutiers, 1903), p. 171, donne la variante suivante:

"Bell', si je te tenais
Dans ce grand bois seulette,
Je te ferais changer
De couleur, ma brunette."

Cf. L. Pineau, *Le Folk-lore du Poitou* (Paris, 1892), p. 285:

"Oh! si je te tenais
Dedans les bois seulette
Je te ferais passer
Tes couleurs, ma brunette!" ..

de Marot qui ont inspiré Ronsard, se retrouvent dans les chansons populaires. Et cela nous paraît d'autant plus curieux que M. Lefranc s'est servi de l'épigramme de Marot, à côté de beaucoup d'autres allusions, pour trouver l'énigme que pose le nom de la femme aimée par Marot. C'est cette même épigramme qui nous indique que *la Brunette est jeunette*; mais justement dans les chansons populaires, la brunnette est toujours jeunette:

Ele est brunete
Sadete
Cointe, jonete.¹⁸

Je suis sade et brunete
et jone pucelete.¹⁹

Quant au vers de Marot dans la même épigramme:

Et le pays est celui d'Alençon

pouvons-nous remarquer qu'Alençon est une de ces villes, comme Nantes, Rennes, Paris, Lyon, Marseille, Montauban, ... qui sont souvent citées dans les chansons populaires, ainsi qu'en témoigne la chanson suivante:

Si voulez ouir chansonnette,
C'est d'une fille d'Alençon.²⁰

La solution qu'apporte M. Lefranc au problème des amours de Marot est si élégante; elle est présentée avec tant d'ardeur convaincante qu'on ne saurait la mettre en doute. Mais nous est-il permis d'être un peu troublé quand nous voyons que cette épigramme de Marot, inspirée par une chanson populaire dont le succès nous est attesté, a servi de preuve à l'appui pour soutenir la brillante hypothèse de M. Lefranc?

Tournons-nous maintenant vers une autre chanson de Marot, celle où il donne des conseils sur le choix d'une amie.²¹ Marot recommande de ne pas la prendre trop jeunette, mais:

Pour durer, prenez la brunette.

L'ode de Ronsard, "Des beautés qu'il voudroit en sa mie," est comme une réplique à la chanson de Marot, nous dit P. Villey.²² On

¹⁸ G. Raynaud, pp. 283-84.

¹⁹ K. Bartsch, *Altfranzösische Romanzen und Pastourelles* (Leipzig, 1870), p. 191.

²⁰ J.-B. Woerlein, p. 443.

²¹ *Œuvres complètes*, V, 185.

²² P. Villey, *Pierre de Ronsard* (Paris, 1914), p. 46.

sait que Ronsard y déclare :

Noir je vueil l'œil et brun le teint
Bien que l'œil verd toute la France adore.

Mais ce qui nous intéresse surtout, ici, c'est qu'il y a de nombreuses variantes d'une chanson populaire qui donne un avis semblable :

N'y prenez pas d'ces blondes
Car ell's sont trop profondes

Prenez donc ces brunettes
Qui sont bell's et parfaites²³

N'y prenez pas d'ces blondes
Prenez de ces brunettes

Ell's sont si gentillettes.²⁴

Prenez de ces brunettes
Elles sont jolilettes.²⁵

E. de Beaurepaire-Froment signale aussi l'influence de la poésie "populaire et traditionniste" sur Rabelais. Il y a là un problème que nous étudierons plus tard, ainsi que celui de l'idéal féminin nouveau qui est proclamé par les poètes de cour au XVI^e siècle, tandis que l'idéal courtois du moyen âge était celui d'une femme blonde aux yeux "vairs et riants."

En conclusion, nous dirons que les chants *populaires* et *traditionnistes* nous permettent d'expliquer quelques allusions ou certains caractères des œuvres de la fin du XV^e siècle et du XVI^e siècle.

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²² E. Barbillat et L. Touraine, *Chansons populaires dans le Bas-Berry* (Châteauroux, 1931), IV, 110.

²³ Recueil de crémignons français et wallons (Liège, 1882), p. 51; L. Terry et L. Chaumont, *Recueil d'airs de crémignons et de chansons populaires à Liège* (Liège, 1889), pp. 151-52.

²⁴ E. Rolland, II (Paris, 1889), 235; R. Bréfeil, *Essai sur les chants et les danses de la vallée d'Ossau* (Paris, 1935), p. 48: "Mes prent-te la brunette"; J. Poueligh, I, 287:

"Mes pren-te la brunete
Qu' auras l'amour soulete."

O. L. B. Wolff, *Altfranzösische Volkslieder* (Leipzig, 1881), p. 160:

"Adès sont les sades brunetes
Les plus joliettes."

Cf. S. Trébucq, *La chanson populaire en Vendée* (Paris, 1895), p. 106:

"J'aim' bien mieux ces brunettes
Car ell's sont jolilettes."

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[MODERN]

RHETORIC AND THE APPRECIATION OF POPE

ELDER OLSON

A CERTAIN danger attends the attempt to reevaluate the work of a writer whose literary fortunes have included his repudiation by the taste and doctrine of a whole century of criticism; the danger that, even if a certain restoration be effected, it may be for reasons utterly foreign to those underlying his original eminence. In the case of Pope, whose elevation and degradation were alike complete, the danger of such equivocal restoration is all but unavoidable, for the literary reversal which discredited him made both his theory and his practice unintelligible; it seems hardly grateful, therefore, to meet the labors of his advocates with the objection that these labors involved a danger which they have not avoided. Yet, to the modern defense of Pope, at least, the objection might well be made; and in the instances of Mr. Tillotson and Mr. Root, who are perhaps the most recent defenders,¹ it can be made for almost identical reasons. Both men evince an essentially similar reading of Pope; both operate upon his works with assumptions and distinctions of a similar order; and both attempt his restoration in terms which, however different superficially, are fundamentally equivalent.

Some restatement of their arguments may make my meaning clearer. Mr. Tillotson is engaged largely with the demonstration that Pope is "a true poet"; as he says,² the early nineteenth-century controversy centered mainly about the nature of the true poet, with Pope figuring merely as the stated subject; and it is that controversy, through which Pope has fallen into modern disfavor, which the critic sets out to resolve. For Mr. Tillotson it is the doctrine of classicism which stands in the way of our appreciation, as an external condition which might have deformed wholly the genius of the poet; hence he seeks to show that there was no such deformation; that "Pope took over nothing that he thought unreasonable";³ that Pope escaped the

¹ Geoffrey Tillotson, *On the poetry of Pope* (Oxford, 1938; pp. vi +179); Robert Kilburn Root, *The poetical career of Alexander Pope* (Princeton, 1938; pp. vi +248).

² *On the poetry of Pope*, p. 18, n. 1.

³ P. 2.

servility which the doctrine of imitating the ancients might have imposed by being "himself";⁴ that, in short, he was actuated by precisely the motives, and possessed of precisely the emotional qualities, of the "true poet";⁵ and that his supposed limitations are evidence merely of his absorption with man rather than with nature (*Nature* in the Romantic sense),⁶ or, on the other hand, of the manifestation, in poetic technique, of stern moral control.⁷ Thus, for Mr. Tillotson, Pope is clearly akin to Wordsworth, Keats, and even to Mozart;⁸ and with that kinship established, we may proceed to read and appreciate him without further difficulty.

Happy as this reconciliation of literary contrarieties may be, it is hardly acceptable. "The problem for the critic of Pope's poetry is that of relating the mechanics of the verse to its quality for the emotions",⁹ and Mr. Tillotson's approach to that problem has proceeded by the importation of certain terms central in Pope's literary doctrines—e.g., "correctness"—into a psychological context. For Pope these terms had had a strictly literary meaning: they were predicates of a good poem in the neo-classical conception;¹⁰ for Mr. Tillotson, however, they have an ethical or a psychological significance: they are predicates of Pope.¹¹ Between the "true poet" and the works and doctrines of Pope, then, a discussion of Pope's character and psychology is a necessary mediation; poem and critical proposition alike become but indices of character; and the character is easily equated to the ideal.

⁴ Pp. 5, 11.

⁵ See particularly pp. 18–32; also pp. 160–69.

⁶ Pp. 18–32.

⁷ Pp. 41, 169, *et passim*. The idea is stated with particular clarity on p. 16: "In his [Pope's] own poetry of this kind, the mood is preserved from sentimentality by the technical control, which is the evidence of a moral control."

⁸ E.g., pp. 166, 169, 171.

⁹ P. 160.

¹⁰ Cf., for example, the use of such terms in the *Essay on criticism* as "whole" (I. 235), "part" (II. 243–52), etc.

¹¹ E.g., as "technical control" was "evidence" of "moral control" (p. 16), so such terms as "correctness," "design," "propriety," etc., suffer extension into moral or psychological meanings. Perhaps the quotation of a passage will give, better than the enumeration of shifted terms, the direction of Mr. Tillotson's dialectic: "Shelley is all for light and wind, Keats for colour and luxurious substance. But they seldom see how the materials provided by the earth can attain a perfection of form, and even of symbol, in the work of man's hands" (p. 29). Note that here the literary fact is taken as evidence of the poet's perception or lack of perception; i.e., qualities of the work are taken as qualities also of the man. Whether the argument is intended to turn on potentiality and actuality, or on image and idea, the reasoning of Mr. Tillotson is fallacious: the absence of a potentiality may not be argued from the absence of the actuality, nor is the characteristic absent in the image necessarily missing in the idea.

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In such analysis, clearly, the poet and the work are not separable; historical guarantee of Pope's moral excellences affords a guarantee also of excellences in the poem, and conversely the sensitive critic can ascertain in the excellent poem the moral excellences of the poet. Thus Mr. Tillotson can quote historical evidence,¹² for example, to certify the presence of Romantic qualities in Pope's writings, and he can exhibit the *Second dialogue* as infallible testimony of Pope's virtue.¹³ Apparently the man is the exemplar or paradigm of which the poem is a kind of image or copy; if we wish to understand the image, we must first know its model; but the way to that understanding is, in the main at least, through an examination of the literary genius of Pope. Here the criticism is plainly Platonic, and quite irrefutable in its Platonism; the objections are not upon that score, but on grounds more relative than this: the Platonism, unlike that of Plato, is a somewhat unfruitful Platonism, and the truth to which it leads us is quite unplatonically implausible. If we submit to the unification of doctrine and poem, and both with Pope, and Pope with all other good poets—and I think this is indubitably the course of Mr. Tillotson's dialectic—we deserve to discover the nature of the True Poet, and hence the nature of the True Poem; but the True Poet turns out to be merely the good man, and the True Poem merely the literary evidence of the good man's goodness. Denied the proper revelation, the literal-minded are apt to be captious; they are apt to point out, for instance, that the whole body of neo-classical doctrine becomes so distorted by the analogy as to have only a verbal connection with its former meaning; that such interpretation of the doctrine would perhaps be as little acceptable to Pope as the portrait of Pope the True Poet would be to the Romantics; and that, besides, the paradigm of the True Poet is a purely Romantic creation which Mr. Tillotson assumes without question, and which Pope—and many another—would have questioned very much. One thing, at all odds, is clear: whereas a critic of the eighteenth century—Johnson, for example—could on occasion debate the status of a work in purely literary terms—terms which could apply only to a literary work considered in isolation from the man or the society that produced it¹⁴—Mr. Tillotson's argument, originating in the erasure of that dis-

¹² E.g., pp. 15, 23–25.

¹³ Pp. 39–40.

¹⁴ See, for example, Johnson's commentary on the *Essay on criticism* in his *Life of Pope*.

tinction, can do no such thing; one may question, therefore, whether critical methods so different could reach an agreement concerning Pope which would not be equivocal.

For Mr. Root likewise the restoration of Pope involves the recognition of Romanticism and Classicism as opposites. Although his book is a series of discrete essays tracing the development of Pope as a poet, a certain unity of method is discoverable; and the method is again one in which man and work are inseparable: the argument progresses, consequently, through a genetic analysis of the work, identifying models, reconstructing doctrines, and expounding in general the character and career of Pope, since these are the character and career also of his poetry. For Mr. Root, the modern reader's difficulties with the poetry arise from difficulties with the man, and the latter are twofold: Pope was a man of a society, a century, considerably different from ours, and Pope was so successfully the satirist that bitter animosity has continued to plague his memory.¹⁶ The first difficulty Mr. Root removes by establishing an analogy between the time of Pope and the present century:¹⁶ once the history of Pope's life is before us, the analogy is clear. That clarification immediately results in another, a literary one: we can now observe the analogy, on the one hand, between the canons of Pope's art, and modern common-sense poetic doctrines,¹⁷ and, on the other hand, between the *Rape of the lock* and similar modern poems.¹⁸ The second difficulty Mr. Root destroys somewhat more startlingly. Pointing out that the portrait of Pope which forms the frontispiece of the 1717 volume is that of "a completely Romantic figure, every inch a poet,"¹⁹ Mr. Root solves the problem nicely: "There can be no doubt that to many readers of poetry throughout the nineteenth century, Pope the man was an entirely unsympathetic figure; and for nearly every one in that century, at any rate, it was difficult to dissociate a work of art from the personal character of the artist. All that personal prejudice would have been averted if Pope had died in 1718; instead

¹⁶ *Poetical career*, p. 103.

¹⁷ Pp. 1-11. Perhaps the term "analogy" is misleading; the point is that the genetic, i.e., historical, analysis clarifies the work by revealing the process of its generation. Seeing the work develop under the conditions which determined its character, we understand how the work came to be what it is, much as we can understand Pope the man better, according to Mr. Root, by knowing his origin as a precursor of Romanticism and his end as a poet of moralized song (pp. 159-60).

¹⁸ Pp. 11-31.

¹⁹ Pp. 81-82.

¹⁹ P. 103.

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we should have had another sentimentalized figure of the young poet cut off in the first flower of his genius—and a genius which was apparently to develop into the great precursor of the Romantic movement.”²⁰ Pope unfortunately lived twenty-six years longer, as Mr. Root admits; but his diversion into moral essay and satire is now pardonable as a metamorphosis of the true poet, and in that light the later works are intelligible. Even if we grant all this, however, it is difficult to see how we may apply our discovery to the explication of the texts; comprehension of the analogy between Pope and any other whom we know to be a true poet ought to spring rather from an examination of the writings than from an examination of the man, or of his portrait; and it is precisely upon the writings that Mr. Root is least satisfying. We reach thus a dilemma: either Mr. Root’s essay is, or it is not, to be taken literally; if we take it literally the question is begged, because the similarity of Pope to good poets is precisely the point the anti-Papists would not grant; if, on the other hand, we do not take the essay literally, then the whole essay is beside the question.

Both of these works illustrate, I think, the danger that attends a method when familiarity with its use makes the recollection of its principles a tautology. Both works are in the analogical method; when predicates strictly literary are attributed to a human subject, or when human attributes are applied to a work of art, as in these essays, the literal interpretation of the statements so formed could result only in their falsification. For Mr. Tillotson and Mr. Root the method has become so familiar that to them it is, quite simply, the way in which literature must be approached; an alternative method seems not to have occurred to them. Both, consequently, discuss the works of Pope as a whole; while they admit that each poem is unique, the admission is conventional rather than functional, for the poems are never considered as unique structures; rather, the individual poems enter the discussion, not as solitary objects of consideration, but as illustrations of some quality of Pope’s work as a totality, some quality of Pope the poet or Pope the man, some quality of a doctrine, a convention, or an era. This illustration of qualities proceeds necessarily by the revelation, rather than by any causal explanation, of their presence. The unity of the work exists for these critics in the authorship, i.e., in the

²⁰ P. 104.

author; since the reason for the presence of elements in each poem cannot, then, be found in terms of the poem, it must be adduced from the conditionings, doctrinal or biographical, of the poet; and the statements so derived take the form of analogues in which one term signifies the character of the poet, the other the characteristics of the poem. There is nothing in the least wrong with this method of literary criticism, although literary criticism perhaps affords a surfeit of it; but unless the critic operating in any method is perfectly aware of its manner of operation and of the nature of its solutions, he is likely to take his own statements unqualifiedly, i.e., without respect to the context which developed them; and in both Mr. Tillotson and Mr. Root that qualification is sufficiently lacking to justify us in believing that they are not perfectly aware of their method. The nineteenth-century controversy which both critics here attempt to resolve had terminated in the general conviction that Pope was not a poet; that conviction is not to be corrected by pointing out, as Mr. Root and Mr. Tillotson do, that there is another sense in which Pope may correctly be said to be a poet; if any contradiction is intended here, it is an equivocal contradiction; yet both writers are obviously directing their efforts toward the removal of that conviction.²¹ Both, furthermore, attempt to argue literally from the analogues which they provide: Mr. Root, for instance, seems to me to attempt a literal explication of the *Essay on man* from the (by now almost commonplace) analogy between the philosophical professions of Pope and the Deism of his time;²² Mr. Tillotson similarly essays a justification of the diction of *Windsor Forest* by a history of the terms present in that diction.²³ Moreover, both writers frequently include statements which are irrelevant or meaningless in their discussion; for example, both imply the unique character of the individual poem;²⁴ but the proposition is not used in either of these studies.

The appreciation of Pope is not a question of interpreting his works so that they fall, however equivocally, under what we know, under what we are accustomed to appreciate; rather it is a matter of the discipline of reading: we must discover what these works are, we must

²¹ See Tillotson, pp. 18 ff., 32-42; and Root, pp. 103-4.

²² Root, pp. 179-82.

²³ P. 88. The section on "Correctness in language" (iii) argues in general in this fashion.

²⁴ Tillotson, p. 55; Root, p. 64.

learn to appreciate them as they are. This is a point that, I think, most modern critics of the neo-classical have neglected; the feeling for classicism of Mr. T. S. Eliot or Miss Sitwell, for instance, seems to me rather an ability to find Romantic qualities in the neo-classical than any real ability for the appraisal of the neo-classical itself. Primarily, of course, the problem is not necessarily one of the opposition of Classicism and Romanticism at all, although the hypostatization of these contraries has made their distinction seem one which literary criticism cannot avoid. The problem of the appreciation of Pope is quite the same as that which arises in the appreciation of any writer: one appreciates a work either for extrinsic or for intrinsic reasons, that is, one appreciates it for general "values" or "qualities" which it reflects, or for the unique literary structure in which it is constituted. Generally, there are as many reasons for the lack of appreciation as there are variables in the problem, whichever of the alternatives we choose, and we can obtain an analysis of these by an analysis of the propositions we make about appreciation: a lack of appreciation is due either to (1) a lack of excellence in the work itself, or (2) a lack of intelligibility in the work, or (3) a lack of sensitivity in the reader, or (4) a lack of education in the reader, or (5) some prejudice in the reader. The appreciation of a work for extrinsic reasons has perhaps been sufficiently illustrated, not merely by Mr. Tillotson and Mr. Root, whose fundamental criteria are of an ethical nature, since these critics are primarily concerned with the works as a manifestation of the character of the man, but by the host of critics who have appraised literature in the light of criteria that were ethical, logical, political, or psychological. Appreciation of an intrinsic order—appreciation that might be formulated in terms of exclusively rhetorical or poetic criteria—has not, on the other hand, been sufficiently illustrated. The criticism which results as reasoned statement from such appreciation is in kind with the work; and if one reads the works of Pope as unique structures, one reads with a growing suspicion that the criticism has not been in kind with the work. The scholar, the casual literary essayist, the literary historian, and the writer of textbooks and outlines, all present a treatment essentially similar: whatever the variations of method, purpose, or point of view, whatever the differences in the final evaluation, the characteristics of Pope's work apparently turn out much the same. And when

these have been enumerated, whether for stricture or defense, they remain on the whole the characteristics of the rhetorician rather than of the poet—characteristics which, in poetry, are somewhat difficult to explain away. It is curious, then, that, in the face of this general admission, the position that Pope is a rhetorician, that his works are best explicable in the light of rhetorical rather than poetical principles, has not been assumed. The absence of this assumption seems especially curious when we observe that the greater portion of Pope's work, if we set aside the translations, is either satire or didactic, and that satire and didactic, as invariably involving a consideration of the audience, would fall, not under poetics, but under rhetoric. If we suppose, too, as the criticism of Pope has done invariably, that the doctrines of a writer have some influence upon his work, it is not irrelevant that the doctrines which Pope held were derived from men who either were rhetoricians or who sought, in their writing, what was primarily a rhetorical end.

If we are thinking of rhetoric in its truncated modern sense, as mere stylistic, the supposition that Pope is a rhetorician rather than a poet has little meaning other than of derogation; the truncation effects the substitution of a merely immediate end for the proper rhetorical one, effects, that is, the substitution of verbal ornamentation for persuasion; the result is that—since the end which alone makes intelligible the means is not regarded—the rhetorical work, which is the actualization of the means, cannot be intelligible.²⁵ If, however, we take

²⁵ What weakens the work of Mr. Tillotson and Mr. Root is that, however much of a poet Pope may seem to them, their main concern with him, insofar as it is a literary one at all, takes the form of rhetorical explication; but the rhetoric underlying the explication is mere stylistic. It is for this reason that much which is fresh and excellent in these two books does not, after all, reach very far. Mr. Tillotson, for example, can illuminate some aspects of Pope's diction commendably, as can Mr. Root (see, e.g., Tillotson, pp. 71–84; Root, pp. 37–46); neither can get much beyond the grammatical level, however, since the diction is not systematically considered as ordered to a rhetorical end. While both authors can talk rather prettily of "transitional devices" and "propriety," it is never made clear, precisely, what the transitional device effects, or what it conjoins, or why the elements of the conjunction should be so conjoined; and it is never made clear what is appropriate, or to what it is appropriate, or in what sense it is appropriate. The whole uncertainty in the consideration of the context sometimes betrays these critics into patent absurdities: Mr. Tillotson, for instance, contrasts the full treatment of Nova Zembla in the *Temple of Fame* with the bare mention of the name in *Dunciad*, I, 74, as an example of Pope's steadily developing thrift in description (pp. 60–61); Mr. Root summarizes poems to indicate the appropriateness of a passage, as if poetic unity were a question of material conjunction (pp. 64 ff.). Both critics leave one with the impression that what Pope does cannot be accounted for—an impression which, since the poet should have some justification for the use of his devices, is most disturbing. The justification can be only in terms of the end; here the end is not considered.

rhetoric in its more ancient and more useful sense, as that faculty by which we are able in any field of discourse to induce belief or conviction in our audience,²⁶ the supposition enlarges the possibilities of accounting for what is present in Pope, not merely by permitting the consideration of the various devices as ordered to a more general and, it may be, a more proper end, but by enlarging the scope of the means whereby that end might be attained.²⁷

Perhaps the only way in which these statements may be substantiated is by indicating roughly, through actual analysis, what a rhetorical approach to Pope would be like. Suppose we take, quite arbitrarily, the *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*. If we assume Pope to be a rhetorician, the *Epistle* (like its counterpart, the *First Satire of the Second Book of Horace: To Mr. Fortescue*) is of extraordinary rhetorical importance: these works attempt to re-establish Pope, after such attacks as the *Lines to an imitator of Horace* and the *Epistle to a Doctor of Divinity*, as a man of good moral character. To a rhetorician the appearance of having a good moral character is a first concern; as Aristotle says,²⁸ goodness of character is almost the most effective means of persuasion the orator possesses, since good men are more completely and more readily given credence than others, and since the possibility of persuasion is dependent upon credibility. Thus didactic and satire would have been vitiated alike, had such charges against Pope remained unanswered. The *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot* is, therefore, a piece of forensic in which Pope answers the accusations of his enemies; his audience consists of judges, not spectators, and they are judges of what has been done, rather than of what may be done, and because the end of the discourse is the "proof" of the justice of Pope's actions, i.e., the rehabilitation of his character.²⁹ One thing must be remarked at once: such questions as whether Pope's indignation is sincere, or whether Pope was actually a man of good character—ques-

²⁶ Aristotle *Rhetic* i. 2. 1. 1355^b26.

²⁷ The preference for the second mode of consideration is best argued, I think, from the greater fruitfulness of the mode; but it might be argued as well upon historical grounds. If we hold that neo-classicism embodied much of ancient rhetorical theory, and that the doctrines of neo-classicism constituted the main direction of Pope (and these are in fact the traditional assumptions), there is some ground for supposing that Pope's own conception of rhetoric would not have been limited to stylistic. In other words, Pope was aware of the many devices suggested by Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, and others, and would have been likely to employ them.

²⁸ *Rhet.* i. 2. 4. 1356^a4-13.

²⁹ *Ibid.* i. 3. 1358^a36-1259^a29.

tions about which his critics have troubled so much—are entirely irrelevant here. The rhetorician need not actually be sincere, need not actually be a good man; he must, however, *seem* to be these things, that is, he must through his art effect the impression that he is these things; it is far more important, from the standpoint of rhetoric, to seem to have good character when one actually does not, than to have it when one does not seem to.

Two rhetorical devices of extreme importance may be noted at the outset. First, the casting of the defense into the form of a dialogue was a stroke of rhetorical genius. By the portrayal of himself as closeted with a very close friend, Pope permits himself the most congenial and most disarming setting: the circumstance is one in which sincerity and frankness can be expected. Arbuthnot, moreover, is a great and good man, and as such serves a triple function: he can raise, as interlocutor, questions that might have been awkward for Pope himself to initiate, he serves as a warrant for the truth of the dialogue, and, most important of all, he offers a model, by his concurrence after reasonable objection, which an audience would be extremely likely to imitate; he validates, one might say, both the argument and the report of it which constitutes the *Epistle*. Again, the device of dialogue avoids the difficulties that a direct address to the audience might have entailed; it is very cunning that here the audience should seem to be not an audience, that Pope should seem to be unaware of any other hearer than Arbuthnot; the strategy obtains for Pope the opportunity of using every device of rhetoric while appearing to use none. The dramatization, moreover, sets the matter before the eyes of the audience; the audience is, in a manner, admitted as witness, and what we witness we are most assured of; and, what is more, the presentation as a kind of play insures a much sharper attention than a bare answering of charges could possibly provoke. Secondly, there is much rhetorical force in that the answer to Pope's enemies should have been drawn up, not as the response of a defendant, but as Pope himself says, as a "sort of bill of complaint." To have answered as defendant would have been to indicate the charges as worthy of serious consideration, and the defense would have been much more difficult; to file a bill of complaint, on the other hand, is to propose one's self as the wronged person and to lay the burden of disproof upon the opposition.

According to Aristotle, there are three modes of persuasion furnished by the spoken word: the first is dependent upon the personal character of the speaker, the second upon the frame of mind of the audience, the third upon the speech itself.³⁰ Hence the rhetorician must be able to argue well, to comprehend human character and goodness in their various forms, and to understand the emotions.³¹ We may test Pope as a rhetorician, then, according to his abilities in these directions; that is, we may take for criterion the consideration of whether he has employed all the available means to his particular rhetorical purpose. Aristotle mentions three things as productive of confidence in the character of the speaker—the three, namely, that induce an audience to believe a thing apart from any proof of it: good sense, good moral character, and good will; these are all requisite because false or mistaken counsel is due to the absence of these.³² Pope effects the characterization of himself as a man of good sense by a dozen devices: by his attitude toward flatterers (e.g., ll. 109–24), toward fools (*passim*), toward sober criticism (e.g., ll. 156–57), toward bad art (e.g., ll. 33–46), and in general by his sharp insight into character and motive, and his ready and certain evaluation of human action and production. Furthermore, he brings authority to testify to his good sense: the great have approved his studies (l. 143), and the ancients and the approved moderns (Horace, Persius, Boileau, etc.) furnish him with maxims (e.g., ll. 40, 105–6, etc.).³³ His opponents, on the other hand, are men of folly, susceptible to flattery (e.g., ll. 231–48), congenial with other fools (e.g., ll. 209–12), impatient of just criticism (e.g., l. 40), and in general the contraries of Pope. The characterization of himself as morally good is even more full: Pope has all the virtues in the calendar. He is courageous (e.g., l. 343), temperate (if we can so construe l. 263), liberal (e.g., ll. 371–72), properly ambitious (e.g., ll. 334 ff.), gentle (e.g., ll. 368–87), amiable (e.g., ll. 35, 37), sincere in self-profession (e.g., ll. 261 ff.), witty (this scarcely requires illustration), and just (e.g., ll. 283 ff.). Again his opponents are his contraries; some are vicious through deficiency, as Atticus; some through excess, as Sporus. The characterization of himself as well dis-

³⁰ *Ibid.*, I. 2. 1356*1–21.

³¹ *Ibid.*, I. 2. 1356*21 ff.

³² *Ibid.*, II. 1. 1378*6–19.

³³ L. 3, *Pers. Sat.* iii. 5; l. 20, Boileau, *Art poétique*, Chant I, l. 22, from Mart. *Ep.* xii. 62; l. 40, Hor. *De arte poet.* 388; l. 128; Ov. *Trist.* iv. 10. 25–26; etc.

posed toward the audience, i.e., as having good will, Pope effects easily; his audience is those who are or who think themselves virtuous; and this generalization of the audience escapes, of course, the sharp antagonisms which might have arisen through a more specific pleading. As the matter stands, virtue is the solitary characteristic of the audience; hence Pope needs only to reassure his audience that he is a man of virtue, and that "A lash like mine no honest man need dread." The enemies of Pope, on the other hand, are haters of virtue, hence enemies also of the virtuous, hence enemies of the audience.

So far, however, we have considered only what Pope professes himself and his enemies to be; about that profession in itself there is nothing remarkable, since most people characterize themselves as having every virtue, their enemies as having every vice. The preceding discussion has served but one purpose: it has shown us that Pope has omitted nothing requisite to the character of the speaker. If, now, we can find out in what ways he is able to establish himself as possessed of these characteristics, we shall be dealing with the more properly artistic aspects of his rhetoric. And the chief device is certainly the dialogue itself; for through the dramatization Pope avoids the necessity of stating that he is morally good or sensible or well-disposed, and needs only to show himself as actually acting in such character. This is excellent for several reasons: in the first place, statement analyzes out the various attributions, making refutation or doubt much easier, whereas dramatization presents, like reality itself, complexes of characteristics in such a fashion as often to baffle analysis; secondly, statement gives the impression of hearing a report or testimony, whereas dramatization gives the impression of actually witnessing; hence the latter is clearly more credible. Notice how the attribution proceeds by dramatization; in lines 333 ff., for example, Pope breaks into a heroic declamation which has the effect of attributing extremest moral excellence to him; he does not, however, *state* that he is virtuous; he merely shows himself acting as if he were. There is not a single declarative idea in the whole speech; the whole is one subjunctive sentence. The moral indignation which he assumes in the angry interruptions (e.g., ll. 78 ff.), the ironic amusement at flattery (e.g., ll. 115 ff.), the disgust with "the whole Castalian state" (e.g., ll. 215-54), the regret at the fate of Gay (ll. 256 ff.), the apparent justice of the portrait of Atticus,

the earnestness of such passages as lines 135 ff., as lines 261 ff., as lines 334 ff.—all these are speeches appropriate only to a man of distinguished virtue and prudence; the audience assumes therefore that Pope, who is saying these things, is virtuous and prudent, much as spectators at a play imagine an actor to be actually like the character he is impersonating. Nor can the audience take this as fiction; Arbuthnot is there, as it were, to certify that it happened. The result is something very difficult to doubt, something practically impossible to refute. Once Pope's character, moreover, is established, it tends to establish certain other things which, reciprocally, assist in the further establishment of the character; for instance, it is because we believe Pope virtuous that we believe his account of his parentage, and it is because we believe his account of his parentage that we tend to be more assured of his virtue, not merely because Pope exhibits filial piety and a wish to emulate his father's virtue, but because it is generally thought that what springs from good parentage tends itself to be good. The good will toward the audience is similarly, as I have suggested, established.

The audience here needs hardly any other characterization than that it is composed of all those, of whatever age, birth, state, or similar determination, who are virtuous or who think themselves virtuous. Their state of mind may be any state from fear and hatred of Pope³⁴ to mere anger with him; the rhetoric seems devised for the removal of any prejudice against him as a kind of "mad dog" satirist. It is the state of mind of the audience that orders the work: the ordering, that is, is not logical or poetical, but one determined by the stages in which such prejudice can be removed, and in which the proper conception of Pope as a man can be constructed. The most important thing is to allay the fear of the reader that he may be the next to be attacked, since such fear would make it impossible for Pope to appear as one of good will, and hence to persuade at all; consequently Pope shows himself as besieged by the rabble of bad poets; because one who is himself hard pressed is unlikely to attack new enemies, the fear is temporarily, at least, allayed. But Pope immediately proceeds to characterize his opponents as the mad; they, then, and not he, are the proper objects of

³⁴ *First Sat. Bk. II. Horace: To Mr. Fortescue*, l. 41: "Ev'n those you touch not, hate you."

fear. Even so, Pope is civil to them in their madness and folly; the audience is likely to judge, therefore, that he will be more than civil to the sane and wise. Indeed, Pope must be even hospitable to the mad; else the poetaster sallying forth from the Mint would not be happy to catch him "just at dinner-time." Also, Pope is apparently kind to his servant—witness "good John"; therefore it is likely that he will be kind to those who are not his servants. What is more, Pope has been wrongly accused: Arthur and Cornus impute to him what it is absurd to think he could have caused. All of these details would operate upon the minds of the audience to an obvious end; so that by line 68 it is established that Pope, far from being a mad dog satirist, far from being a perpetrator of unprovoked literary outrages, is a man of civility and humanity, as well as of acumen, who has borne the extremest provocation that a character so constituted can bear. His enemies, on the other hand, are men of the opposite stamp; they fit the description of those whom Persius, Martial, and Boileau had satirized,³⁵ and they will not in their literary folly profit by the advice even of Horace;³⁶ thus the authority of the ancients and moderns is invoked against them. It is to be noted that as the speech progresses, as Pope obtains increasing control over his audience, the satire sharpens with more and more serious allegations: thus, for example, the portrait of Atticus is sharper than the ridicule of the fools at the beginning, and the portrait of Sporus is sharper than that of Atticus.³⁷ The jesting tone of the opening lines, moreover, permits exaggerations which a more serious statement might have made to appear falsity; in addition, the pleasantry is most disarming.³⁸

The fear of the audience is perhaps, for the moment at least, sufficiently allayed; but certain possible prejudices against Pope's character must be removed. For example, the audience may feel that while Pope's satire is certainly not unprovoked, the punishment may be excessive, and Pope, consequently, may be cruel. This charge is answered in lines 83–101, and it is notable that Pope himself raises the question rather than Arbuthnot: as one who punishes justly, Pope

³⁵ See n. 33, above.

³⁶ L. 40.

³⁷ Cf. the increasing sharpness in the speech of Mark Antony in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, III, ii, 74–260.

³⁸ Arist. *Rhet.* iii. 18. 1419^a3–5.

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⁴¹ Mr.

must himself have weighed the punishment; for Arbuthnot to have raised the point would have been to suggest that it was an issue overlooked by Pope. The charge is, of course, answered casuistically; but while the argument itself is fraudulent, it is posed in such a fashion as to provoke laughter; and laughter, as Pope himself once said,³⁹ is a kind of assent. The anger of those who might object to Pope's attacks upon royalty, as arising from the most serious prejudice, has been removed previously: in lines 70–72 Pope's reference to "queens, ministers, and kings" had been innocent and accidental; and the fear of Arbuthnot that such a reference might be turned against Pope suggests in the most cunning fashion that all such charges had had similar origin.⁴⁰ Lines 101–24 remove any prejudice which the audience may have against Pope on the score of imprudence; lines 115–24, any which the audience may hold on the score of vanity. Following this, Pope attempts to move the audience into a positive conception of him; the appeals to the authority of nature (ll. 125–28) and of the great who had approved his labors (ll. 135–46), together with the brief appeal to the pity of the audience (ll. 131–33), signalize the beginning of this attempt. Certain of the minor enemies can be discredited now that the audience has been fairly caught; but the attack must begin mildly, or the old prejudices will revive. Accordingly Pope, while apparently illustrating his restraint, discounts Gildon and Dennis (ll. 146–56) by adumbrating the causes of their attack upon him. Similarly, the momentary fury of the attack upon his "more sober" critics is made pardonable by the apparent aptness of the metaphor in lines 169–72, although the punitive force of the passage is thereby increased and not lessened; and similarly, too, the treatment of the "others angry" moves assent by the inclusion of aphorisms on the difficulty of pleasing the proud (ll. 175–78). Immediately thereafter we have Atticus. A good deal has been said on the apparently nice justice of these lines,⁴¹ so that any extended treatment here is unnecessary; however, it may be noted that in the character Pope is professing himself to be, any purely scurrilous treatment of Addison would have been

³⁹ *First Sat. Bk. II. Hor. To Mr. Fortescue*, ll. 155–56.

⁴⁰ Note other attempts to remove the same charge in this epistle; e.g., the canceled verses after l. 282 in the MS; ll. 356–59, etc.

⁴¹ Mr. Root has some excellent suggestions; see *Poetical career*, pp. 201–5.

inappropriate, and that, at the same time, some treatment of Addison was requisite: Addison was too distinguished an adversary to be ignored. He must, moreover, be removed as early in the argument as would be consistent with safety, since to reserve him for later answer would have been to effect in the audience only a tentative acceptance of the greater part of Pope's argument. Hence Pope, using what Aristotle calls a "method of thoroughly skillful and unscrupulous prosecutors,"⁴² mixes the virtues and vices of Atticus in such fashion as to disguise perfectly that this is special pleading. The statement is not even plain and flat; as Mr. Tillotson admirably suggests, the whole "hangs on a condition."⁴³ Even so, the attack may have been too daring; hence, lest the audience feel that it has proceeded from literary envy, Pope hastens, in lines 215-70, to indicate himself as one quite without ambition of the worldly kind, whether literary or otherwise; the portrait of Bufo the patron is introduced to show the kind of character to whom "the Castalian state" would be desirable, to provide an object for the contempt of Pope, and so to disclaim any similar ambition. This is followed by several self-characterizing speeches in which the audience is further impressed with Pope's good will: if certain works attributed to Pope have given offense, the attribution is questionable;⁴⁴ Pope is a friend of the virtuous, hence of the audience. Thus the shocking portraiture of Sporus—in this instance the main enemy, since he and Lady Mary⁴⁵ had brought the charges—is prepared for: at the precise moment when the identification of Pope with the audience is most complete, Pope turns on Sporus; and the assent of the audience is a foregone conclusion. The contemptuous interruption of Arbuthnot reinforces the ferocity of the attack; and the coincidence of the audience is counted upon to such an extent, now, that Sporus' very best parts—his "eternal smiles," his personal beauty, his evident charm, his wit, his possession of royal favor—all suffer a horrid inversion. That removes all charges against Pope; and Pope proceeds to stamp home, once and for all, the impression of himself which he wishes to create: all his acts have virtue as their source (ll. 334-59);

⁴² *Rhet.* iii. 15. 1416b5-7.

⁴³ *On the poetry of Pope*, p. 38.

⁴⁴ Cf. ll. 279-82 and 351.

⁴⁵ Lady Mary is mentioned by name only in l. 101 and, still with considerable reticence, in l. 369—probably because a too furious attack might have been out of character here.

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his very enemies can give evidence of that (ll. 368 ff.); he is good in origin (ll. 382–403) and he will so continue (ll. 404–17). Arbuthnot acquiesces completely, closing the dialogue. What is left last of all with the audience is, therefore, a proper picture of Pope, duly approved by Arbuthnot, to bear in mind against any further attacks.

The argument itself is relatively simple: it must first be shown that Pope's action in the present instance is just retaliation; next, that he did not initiate the literary war; and finally, to provide against further charges of a similar nature, that Pope's intentions are virtuous and that it is improbable that he will depart from those intentions. Accordingly the argument falls into three parts: the first (ll. 1–124) arguing the present charges (i.e., of the *Verses to an imitator of Horace* and the *Epistle to a Doctor of Divinity*), the second (ll. 125–248) arguing that Pope was not the original aggressor, the third (ll. 249–end) arguing the guarantee of Pope's future conduct.

In the first part Pope spends lines 1–68 in establishing, by rhetorical induction, his minor premise, namely, that his case is worse than that of Midas' minister, since every coxcomb perks asses' ears in his face; the major, that all who have secrets similar to that of Midas' minister cannot retain them, is suggested in lines 69–74; and the conclusion appears in lines 79–80 through the false *a fortiori*: Pope is "forced to speak or burst," hence "Out with it, Dunciad! Let the secret pass." Two objections are posed, one with respect to the possible cruelty, the other with respect to the possible imprudence of retaliation; each of these meets a threefold argument of counter-objection. The first objection is answered first by enthymeme; the major is "Fools do not suffer pain" ("No creature smarts so little as a fool"); the minor, that these are fools, is taken as *ex concessu* and is suppressed; the conclusion, that these do not suffer pain sufficiently to constitute the infliction of it a cruelty, then follows.⁴⁶ Next, the objection is refuted by analogy (ll. 89–94): if a scribbler is like a spider and it is no cruelty to destroy the fabrication of the spider, then by analogy it is no cruelty to destroy the fibs or sophistries of the scribbler. The analogy is so skilfully drawn as to command the assent of the audience; but with the assent to the analogy the conclusion apparently

⁴⁶ Depending upon grammatical interpretation, the argument is either maxim or enthymeme. For the distinction see Aristotle *Rhet.* II. 21–22.

follows. Thirdly, Pope refutes, by seemingly perfect induction ("Whom have I hurt?") for the last time the objection of cruelty (ll. 95-101). In turn the objection of imprudence is answered by enthymeme or maxim (l. 104), by analogy (ll. 105-6) fortified by an appeal to authority ("if the learned are right"), and finally by induction (ll. 109-24).

The second part of the argument establishes the innocence of Pope's conduct previous to the present warfare. The cause of his writing is nature ("the numbers came"), not vanity, since he wrote as a child, when he was not yet "a fool to fame"; and the natural capacity was realized in accordance with duty, piety, and friendship; hence his writing is in origin and in actualization good. The cause of his publication is authority; and the *ad verecundiam* argument serves the double purpose of supporting the contention and of characterizing Pope as amiable, sensible, modest, and talented, as indeed does most of the argument. The writing so generated, so developed, and so published could have given no offense; yet he was attacked by Gildon and Dennis, who wrote not through nature but through want, and who published not by authority but through madness; Pope is not, then, the first aggressor. Indeed, he did not act even then; though he may have angered some (l. 173), it was only an attempt upon his part to evaluate them justly; and since the evaluation was truthful, it could have given anger only to the proud (ll. 173-78). It is notable that nowhere in this part does Arbuthnot pose an objection; these are matters that Arbuthnot could not have called in question without ruining the rhetorical effect. For the most part the argument has proceeded by enthymeme and induction; but the analogy in lines 169-72, like that of the spider, is of telling force.

In the third part the argument is of extremest simplicity; here Pope for the most part falls back, quite properly,⁴⁷ upon moral discourse; his future conduct is suggested from his wishes (e.g., ll. 249-62) and his present virtue (ll. 283 ff.), the latter being in fact the reason why his genius, by nature literary, should have been given a satiric determination.⁴⁸ The piece closes with the purely rhetorical exhibition of Pope, as it were, in the bosom of his family.

Space has not allowed more than the adumbration of an analysis;

⁴⁷ Cf. *ibid.* ill. 17. 1418-37 ff.

⁴⁸ Ll. 334-59.

but even from this it would be easily possible to show how the style, the prosody, and even the grammatical constructions are appropriate to the rhetorical work we have outlined. The style, for example, is excellent if for no other reason than that it is in the great rhetorical tradition of Horace, Juvenal, and Persius; to write in that fashion is in a manner to invoke the authority of these writers; and to write so, furthermore, would be rhetorically justifiable if only upon the ground that such a style was demanded by the audience. More specifically, however, the appropriateness of the diction can be seen from the manner of its exhibition of character and emotion and from its suitability to the subject matter. For example, in the passage describing the simplicity of Pope's life (ll. 261 ff.) the diction itself is simple; the words are among the commonest in the language and they are used in their literal sense; mostly, indeed, the speech is monosyllabic; there are almost no epithets, and there are no ambiguous or unusual grammatical constructions. That simplicity of diction of course makes for clarity; but to appreciate how it exhibits character and emotion we have only to consider what a more fanciful or elaborate diction would have effected; any such departure from the simple would have belied the simplicity of taste that Pope was attempting to establish as characteristic of him, and furthermore, would have given a flavor of artificiality to his professions, since people tend to believe that sincerity is attended by simplicity of speech. I think the very grammatical structure here is defensible; the subjunctive sentence, particularly when exclamatory, as here, is much more effective than a declarative sentence could have been, since it has an emotional tone; we have only to substitute "I wish to live my own and die so too" for "Oh, let me live my own and die so too!" to observe how the emotion disappears. The exhibition of emotion is particularly important here; the good man ought not merely to wish a good life but to feel strongly about it, so that all his emotions are ordered to it; and the best argument that one has such and such desires is the exhibition of one's self as actually moved by the contemplation of them. The use of the verbs "maintain," "see," "read" without the auxiliary construction (i.e., without "let me") is also defensible; it gives the passage a rational tone through grammatical co-ordination, where a series of short exclamatory sentences would have made but hysterical declamation. It is

proper, too, that the analysis of what it is to "live my own" should be brief; a long series of statements about the simple life would have made the life seem not simple but complex. The entire absence of grammatical inversion in this passage was almost necessitated by the need for an air of plainness and simplicity; hence, once the kind of sentence has been determined, the organization of the words is according to normal order; and although ellipsis is employed, it is normal ellipsis only: the omission of a subject before predicates in series, or of verbal auxiliaries. Wit could have no place in this passage; it could but make suspect Pope's sincerity. Simple though the verses are, the diction is saved from meanness through its employment in moral discourse, through the absence of any low referents, and through the verse.

Viewed generally, even in this crude sketch of an analysis, the *Epistle* presents certain striking peculiarities of form. Not the least striking of these is the circularity of the rhetoric; the work is intended to establish the character of Pope through argument, but the warrant for the credibility of the argument is the character of Pope, and, strangely enough, the particular arguments establishing each trait of character depend upon the previous assumption that Pope *has* the very trait in question; for instance, we can grant the argument establishing truthfulness as a characteristic only if we already believe in the truthfulness of the speaker advancing the argument, and we can grant the thesis of his prudence only if we have previously ceded that characteristic as present in him. There is a reciprocal relation, consequently, between the principles and the conclusion of the rhetoric; a circularity not even broken by the presence of Arbuthnot as witness, since in the end we have only Pope's word for that. But the peculiarities do not cease here; the internal rhetoric is one in which speaker, audience, and speech are one: Pope is the speaker, Pope is the thesis in question and the argument supporting it, and finally, since Arbuthnot, the apparent audience, is nothing more than the creature of Pope, Pope is the audience as well. The effect on the actual audience, i.e., the readers for whom the rhetoric is designed, is most curious; it is as if they were overhearing one more *Débat de cœur et de corps*, one more *A son esprit*.⁴⁹ What is more, there is here, in a sense,

⁴⁹ It was apparently Warton who first mentioned this latter, the ninth Satire of Boileau, as strongly influencing the *Epistle to Arbuthnot* (*Essay on the genius and writings of Pope*, II [London, 1782], 264). Certainly there are important similarities.

rhetoric within rhetoric; there is the rhetoric by which Arbuthnot becomes convinced of the propriety of Pope's satire, and there is the rhetoric effecting conviction in the reader through the example of Arbuthnot's conviction. Here again a circle is evident; the first can be effective only if the second is effective, and the second can be effective only if the first is.

The rhetoric is not thereby vitiated, strangely enough; it is saved by Pope's lively simulation of virtue, which is sufficiently impressive to establish part, and hence all, of the circle. As Aristotle remarks, an audience generally tends to commit the fallacy of the consequent, to suppose, in other words, that because the speaker acts just as virtuous men do under the circumstances, he is himself virtuous.⁵⁰ In appraising the *Epistle* as forensic, then, it should be sufficient for us that the semblance of virtue is good, that the part is well acted; to judge the work as demonstration there would be requisite a certitude, which no historical information could provide, that Pope was in fact virtuous. If we assume that Pope is dissembling here, the rhetoric is much like that of the first speech of Socrates in the *Phaedrus*,⁵¹ unlike the speech of Lysias,⁵² it has an ordering principle, and unlike the second speech of Socrates,⁵³ which is the true rhetoric, i.e., dialectic, it does not possess truth. The conception of rhetoric which is exemplified in the first speech of Socrates approximates to Aristotle's conception of rhetoric; it is an art of uttering semblances of truth rather than truth itself; and it bears that relation to the true rhetoric, dialectic, which in Aristotelian statement rhetoric would bear to demonstration; it seeks, that is, its warrant in the opinions and emotions of the audience rather than in principles of scientific demonstration.

I have suggested, thus roughly, a possible approach⁵⁴ to the *Epistle*

⁵⁰ *Poetics* xxiv, 1460-19-25.

⁵¹ 237 C ff.

⁵² *Ibid.* 231 A ff.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 244 A ff.

⁵⁴ Since literary analysis, like any analysis, involves variables (e.g., the sensibility or erudition of the reader, the certainty of the text, etc.), its status is that of hypothesis. There can, consequently, be no proof positive of the present analysis, if by proof positive we mean something of the order of demonstration; but there may be derived from the definition of the term *hypothesis* eleven topics which can be taken as criteria for the evaluation of hypotheses. If we define *hypothesis* as a supposition explaining data, it is clear that (1) the hypothesis must be more intelligible than the data (since explanation is always of the less well known in terms of the better known); (2) the hypothesis must be clearly formulated; (3) it must have a single principle governing the admission of data as evidence; (4) it must take into account all the evidence resulting from the application of that principle; (5) it must imply all the admitted evidence; (6) it must in that implication have systematic unity; (7) it must be self-consistent; (8) it must rest upon no hy-

to Dr. Arbuthnot; I think that a similar treatment of the *Moral essays*, the *Essay on man*, the *Essay on criticism*, the *Dunciad*, and in general the rhetorical works of Pope, might prove not unprofitable. Such works as the *Pastorals*, the *Temple of Fame*, the *Rape of the lock*, and the translations of Homer, Statius, and Donne are not, on the other hand, likely to yield much in such analysis; these seem to me rather to be translations in the sense in which any attempt to construct a literary analogue of a given work is a translation, and must be approached accordingly. Whatever approach be adopted, however, it will tend to be more fruitful if it examines systematically the nature of the equivalences which may exist between literary analogues. The problem of Pope's Homer, for instance, is not touched, much less solved, when we point out that Pope is or is not Homer, or when we underscore similarities or dissimilarities of diction; we cannot operate properly apart from a clearly formulated theory of translation if we are to make any literal statements concerning a work *qua* translation. In the case of Pope we have been provided with a statement of what he considered translation to be;⁵⁵ the danger has been that we have inter-

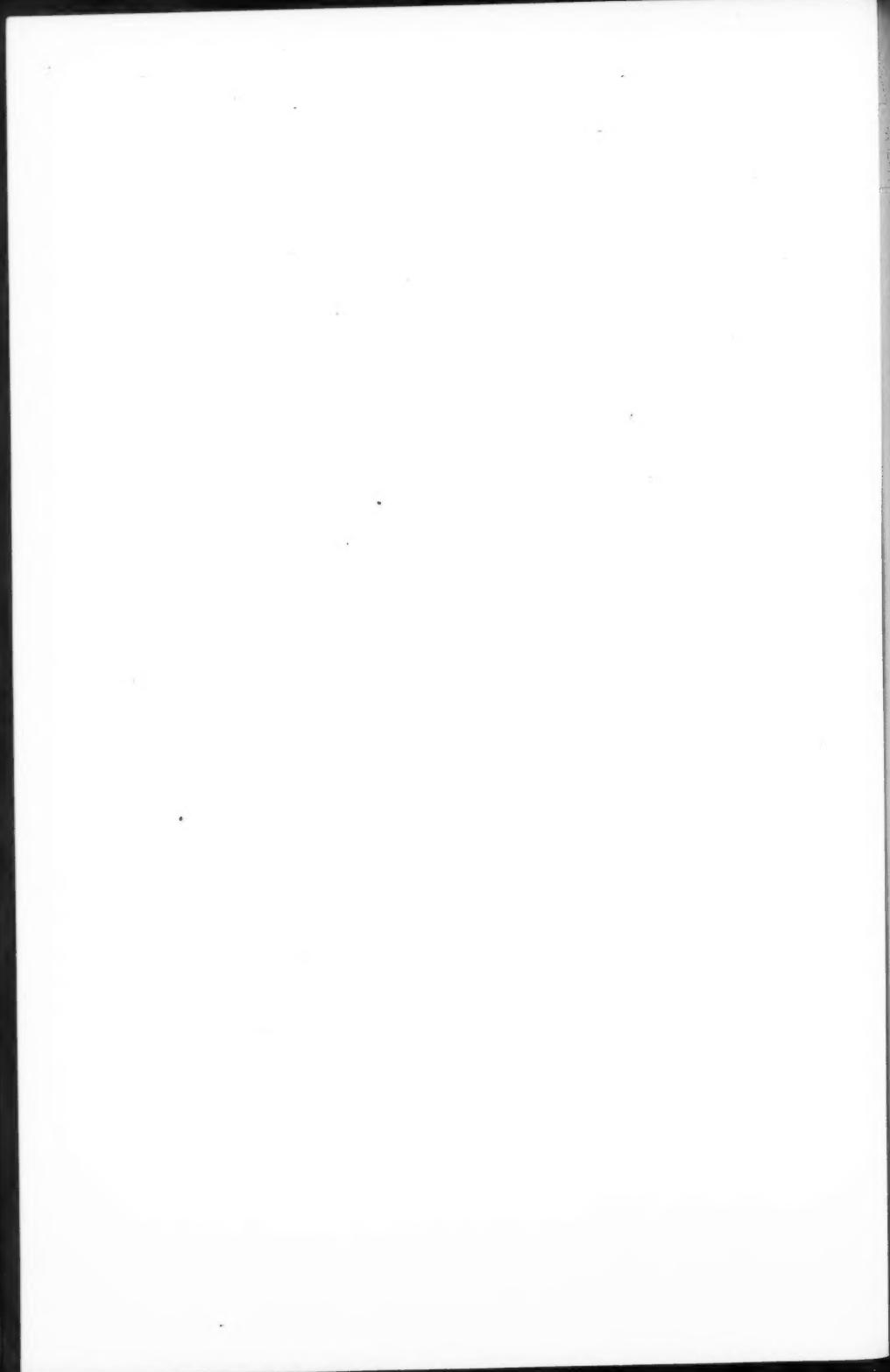
potheses less probable than itself; (9) it must be economical; (10) it must constitute an explanation of the data, i.e., the data must be intelligible through it; and (11) it must be consistent with known truths.

The present analysis is intended, thus, not as a final and absolute explanation of the poem, but as an illustration of a critical method.

"Although the term "translation" is usually defined as the rendering of a literary structure in different diction, certain loosenesses of its application have extended its meaning to include both imitation and adaptation. In its broadest literary sense, translation is the construction of a literary work similar in some respect to a given work or a given kind of work; hence there are as many modes of translation as we distinguish qualitative parts of the work to be translated, or, to put it differently, as there are respects in which we take works to be similar. Thus if we distinguish plot, character, diction, and thought as qualitative parts of the epic, the equivalences between original and translation may be stated in terms of these; and the criteria of translation *qua* translation would be derived, in any case, from the fact that a translation is dependent for its character upon those aspects which the translator held either to be chiefly characteristic of a work, an author, a *genre*, or a mode of composition, or, on the other hand, to be relevant to some circumstance affecting the translator. In the *Preface to the Iliad* Pope sets up two ways in which his translation may be tested; one may test intuitively (i.e., by sensibility) by referring the work to Fénelon's *Télémaque*, a poem which according to Pope has caught the proper spirit or quality of Homer, or one may test intellectually by referring to Bossu on the epic for the "justest notion of his [Homer's] design and conduct." In the first, the intuitive test, the "chief character" of Homer is revealed as "fire"; but if the reference to Bossu is anything more than a fashionable gesture, there is no need to consider "fire" a property of diction only, or to suppose that Pope's doctrine of translation was exclusively concerned with diction, in spite of Pope's somewhat lengthy analysis of possible stylistic equivalences, viz., equivalences either in variations of style, modulations of numbers, diction, or grammatical or rhetorical figuration. In other words, the *Iliad* of Pope might be examined without reference to the Popian stylistic to which so much objection has been raised.

preted that statement too easily, too naively; the larger critical doctrines in which it was included, and without reference to which it is unintelligible, have in a similar fashion been construed too readily, or ignored. In the main the concern of Popian critics has been with the conventions that are considered to have limited, fortunately or unfortunately, the genius of Pope; it might be profitable to remember that if convention, as a postulate, constitutes a limitation, it is also the source of a structure the realization of which is possible only through it. If we are to study Pope, that study might include what the works of Pope are, as well as what they are not. In such fashion alone are we likely to comprehend how, in the judgment of a whole century, and by no means without reason, Pope must be reckoned among the few first figures of English literature.

ARMOUR INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY



STENDHAL DISCIPLE DE CHATEAUBRIAND

ROBERT VIGNERON

DE SON propre aveu, Stendhal a eu dans sa vie deux goûts durables: Saint-Simon et les épinards. Mais il a eu pour Chateaubriand une aversion non moins tenace. Dès le 1^{er} prairial an XII (21 mai 1804), irrité par l'éloquence du *Génie du christianisme*, il note dans un de ses cahiers: «Les pensées de cet auteur sont si désagréables à lire dans l'original à cause de l'enflure du style que je prends le parti de les extraire.¹ Dès le 20 prairial (9 juin) il le cite parmi les «ennemis des philosophes»; le 22 messidor (11 juillet) il le classe dans la «canaille actuelle de la littérature»; le 6 fructidor (24 août) il le compte au nombre des «cuistres» chargés par Napoléon de pervertir l'opinion publique;² il songe même à le prendre pour modèle d'un personnage de comédie, un M. Saint-Bernard qu'il affublera «de tous ses ridicules et en général de cette manière de parler à l'âme par des phrases poétiques lorsqu'il faut raisonner et de raisonner lorsqu'il faut toucher.³ Dès lors son siège est fait: jusqu'à la fin de ses jours, avec une admirable constance, il ne cessera de lui reprocher l'enflure de son style et l'hypocrisie de sa doctrine. Noire ingratitudo: car l'auteur du *Génie* a exercé sur l'auteur du *Rouge* et de la *Chartreuse* une influence aussi étonnante qu'insoupçonnée.

Il est douteux qu'en 1801, dans quelque cantonnement du Piémont, le sous-lieutenant Beyle ait failli avoir un duel pour s'être moqué de la «cime indéterminée des forêts» d'*Atala*, qui comptait beaucoup d'admirateurs au 6^e de dragons;⁴ mais il est certain qu'en frimaire et en

¹ «Mes pensées», Manuscrits de Grenoble, R. 5896, t. XVII, cahier daté du 27 floréal an XII [17 mai 1804], fol. 8, note du 1^{er} prairial an XII [21 mai 1804]; *Pensées*, éd. H. Martineau (Paris: Divan, 1931), I, 256. La présente étude a fait l'objet d'une communication au Romance Club de l'Université de Chicago le 24 avril 1939.

² «Mes pensées», *ibid.*, fol. 11; p. 262. «Filosofia nova. Troisième cahier», R. 5896, t. XXIV, cahier daté du 22 messidor an XII [11 juillet 1804], fol. 36, note du 22 messidor; *Pensées*, II, 167. «Le bon parti», R. 5896, t. XIX; *Théâtre*, éd. H. Martineau (Paris: Divan, 1931), III, 27.

³ «Le bon parti», *Théâtre*, III, 28. Nous ne prétendons point relever ici tous les jugements portés par Stendhal sur Chateaubriand: ils suffiraient à remplir un long article.

⁴ Cf. Lettre à Balzac, Civita-Veccchia le 16 octobre 1840, *Correspondance*, éd. H. Martineau (Paris: Divan, 1933-1934), X, 269, 277-78, 281-82. Un passage du *Journal*,

nivôse an XI (décembre 1802—janvier 1803), à Paris, M. Henri Beyle, qui avait quitté l'armée pour s'établir poète dramatique, a lu avec enthousiasme et soigneusement dépouillé le *Génie du christianisme*. Dans ses «Pensées sur différents sujets», commencées le 16 frimaire an XI (7 décembre 1802), il copie plusieurs extraits de la «Poétique» et des «Beaux-Arts»: une maxime sur la gravité du crime relative au nombre de liens que le coupable a rompus, un jugement sur les historiens grecs et latins, une pensée sur le cercle borné des vérités et l'abondance inépuisable des illusions, un principe sur le rapport nécessaire des monuments avec les institutions et les habitudes des peuples.⁵ Dans ses «Pensées diverses», commencées le 19 nivôse an XI (9 janvier 1803), il transcrit un jugement sur la composition des caractères dans la *Jérusalem délivrée*, et un paragraphe sur la diversité des tons admis dans l'épopée; il admire un «beau mouvement» sur Bourdaloue, un «beau morceau sur Pascal»; et il note à ce propos que Chateaubriand lui a «appris l'air de grandeur que les pluriels donnent au discours».⁶ Cette lecture attentive lui laisse une impression durable: le 14 prairial an XI (7 juin 1803), en lisant l'*Enfer* dans la traduction de Rivarol, il remarque avec plaisir que «le style de Rivarol ressemble beaucoup à celui de Chateaubriand».⁷ Un an plus tard, le 1^{er} prairial an XII (21 mai 1804), il rouvre le *Génie* et en extrait encore un jugement sur l'excellence de Dante dans le pathétique et le terrible, une formule sur la vanité essentielle de la femme, et une comparaison entre Racine et Virgile;⁸ c'est en outre sur un passage de Coras cité dans le *Génie* qu'il fonde quelques remarques sur le «rythme de la douleur» et le «temps le plus *flebile*».⁹

éd. H. Debray et L. Royer (Paris: Champion, 1923-1934), I, 14, montre qu'au 28 prairial an IX [17 juin 1801], Beyle considérait *Atala* comme un «ouvrage extraordinaire, mais médiocre», sans d'ailleurs l'avoir lu.

⁵ «Pensées sur différents sujets», R. 302, cahier daté du 16 frimaire an XI [7 décembre 1802], fol. 7 verso, 8 verso, 9; *Pensées*, I, 27, 30-31. Cf. Chateaubriand, *Génie du christianisme* (Paris: Migneret, 1802), II, 89, III, 86, 87, II, 36.

⁶ «Pensées diverses», R. 302, cahier daté du 19 nivôse an XI [9 janvier 1803], fol. 3 (inédit), 4 verso (inédit), 5 verso; *Pensées*, I, 61. Cf. *Génie*, II, 7, 3, III, 126, 65-75.

⁷ «Pensées», R. 5896, t. VII, cahier daté du 30 germinal an XI [20 avril 1803], fol. 6 verso, note du 14 prairial an XI [7 juin 1803]; *Pensées*, I, 108.

⁸ «Mes pensées», R. 5896, t. XVII, cahier daté du 27 floréal an XII [17 mai 1804], fol. 8, notes du 1^{er} prairial an XII [21 mai 1804]; *Pensées*, I, 256-57. Cf. *Génie*, II, 6, 14-15, 97.

⁹ «Mes pensées», *ibid.*, fol. 3; p. 247. «Langage des passions», R. 5896, t. XXIV, cahier daté du 18 messidor an XII [7 juillet 1804], fol. 82; *Pensées*, II, 199-200. Cf. *Génie*, II, 30 Sa mémoire semble d'ailleurs le trahir.

Ces notes de lecture ne sont point les seuls indices de l'influence de l'Enchanteur: la «Poétique» du *Génie* suggère aussi au jeune bardé nombre d'idées pour les œuvres qu'il brûle d'écrire. Le 27 brumaire an XI (18 novembre 1802) il entreprend un *Hamlet*,¹⁰ mais il en transporte la scène en Pologne «dans le temps des mœurs les plus chevaleresques», car Chateaubriand lui a révélé les ressources poétiques du caractère et des mœurs des chevaliers; et il change les rapports des personnages en faisant d'Ophélie la fille de Claudio, car Chateaubriand lui a découvert «ces combats intérieurs de l'âme, si communs sous la loi évangélique, et d'où découlent les caractères les plus touchants».¹¹ Il enrichira ainsi d'un conflit pathétique le sujet traité par Shakespeare: «Je veux peindre dans la tragédie d'*Hamlet* l'opposition de l'amour filial et de l'amour», note-t-il dans une de ses premières ébauches; et bientôt il imagine pour le cinquième acte une situation conforme à ce thème: «Claudius, sachant qu'*Hamlet* aime Ophélie, et n'ayant pas assez de troupes pour se défendre, se montre à *Hamlet* tenant le poignard levé sur Ophélie: Venge donc ton père! Cette situation me paraît bonne en ce qu'elle est dans l'esprit de la pièce: peindre l'opposition de l'amour et de l'amour filial».¹² Le dernier plan qu'il ébauche le 13 frimaire an XI (4 décembre 1802) trahit encore l'influence de Chateaubriand dans le choix du ressort aussi bien que des mœurs: «Je veux peindre dans cette pièce l'opposition de l'amour filial et de l'amour. *Hamlet* est poursuivi par l'ombre de son père dès qu'il cède à l'amour. La scène est en Pologne dans les temps les plus chevaleresques, ce qui me fournit une teinte d'amour et d'honneur de l'effet le plus touchant».¹³ Hélas, le 14 au soir Beyle lisait dans *La Harpe* que la situation qu'il croyait avoir inventée se trouvait déjà dans *Hypermnestre*. Le lendemain il abandonnait donc à grand regret son *Hamlet*; et le 17 (8 décembre) il en résumait dans une dernière note les admirables ressources: «Tous les systèmes de la chevalerie à dé-

¹⁰ Cf. «*Hamlet*», R. 5896, t. XXIV, fol. 88–125, ébauches datées du 27 brumaire an XI [18 novembre 1802] ou 17 frimaire an XI [8 décembre 1802]; *Théâtre*, II, 19–53.

¹¹ *Génie*, II, 73. Chateaubriand montre notamment Adam sacrifiant son immortalité à son amour; Zaire éprouvant «le combat d'une passion contre un devoir»; Iphigénie «étouffant tout à coup sa passion et l'amour de la vie» pour remplir son devoir filial; Héloïse déchirée entre l'amour et la religion qui «exercent à la fois leur empire sur son cœur»; Amélie torturée par les combats du devoir avec la passion incestueuse; et Atala sacrifiant après d'affreux combats son amour et sa vie à sa religion.

¹² «*Hamlet*», *Théâtre*, II, 28, 43.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

velopper. La pitié dans les scènes d'Hamlet et d'Ophélie, la terreur dans celles de l'apparition, et enfin le combat de l'amour filial et de l'amour, passions premières de l'homme, que chaque spectateur a ressenties». Il se promettait d'ailleurs de reprendre son sujet quelques années plus tard, quand il serait sûr de son style: «Alors, j'enterrai *Hypermnestre ou je tomberai*».¹⁴

En attendant, il se met en quête d'un autre sujet; et cette fois c'est le *Génie* même qui le lui suggère. En effet, après avoir affirmé que c'est au christianisme que les modernes doivent le sentiment de l'amour, Chateaubriand rappelait «les beautés que cette passion demi-chrétienne a fait naître», et citait le caractère de Clémentine, «chef-d'œuvre dont l'antiquité n'offre point de modèle».¹⁵ Ce fut pour Beyle un trait de lumière: n'avait-il pas naguère lu *Grandison* en «fondant en larmes de tendresse»? dès le 18 frimaire (9 décembre), «dans un moment d'enthousiasme causé par la lecture du 2^e volume du *Génie du christianisme*», il pensait «à développer le combat de l'amour de Dieu et de l'amour dans le cœur d'une jeune fille passionnée, en un mot à faire une Clémentine protagoniste de tragédie». Mais à Clémentine il fallait évidemment opposer un tout autre homme que le digne Grandison; et Beyle se rappela à propos le prestigieux Infidèle jadis captif dans les montagnes du Dauphiné: «J'ai pensé tout de suite au prince Zizim pour amant. La scène serait alors à Sassenage près Grenoble». Cependant, le lendemain 19 frimaire (10 décembre), les difficultés lui apparaissent. D'abord, le sujet est trop élégiaque pour la tragédie; ensuite, pour que ce fût un chef-d'œuvre, il faudrait «que tous les événements vinssent du caractère principal»; il serait enfin bien difficile de rendre ce sujet «intéressant pour un siècle incrédule: «On plaindra Clémentine comme une folle charmante, si le style est bon on viendra écouter une seconde fois de jolis sentiments en vers touchants, mais l'âme n'ayant pas été violemment émue on n'y reviendra pas une troisième».^{¹⁶} D'ailleurs, en notant la raison pour laquelle Zaire est selon Chateaubriand plus émouvante qu'*Iphigénie*, «toutes les filles chrétiennes peuvent aimer un infidèle, mais il faut être fille de roi pour pouvoir craindre le sort d'*Iphigénie*», Beyle s'aperçoit tout à coup que

^{¹⁴} *Ibid.*, p. 53.

^{¹⁵} *Génie*, II, 120-21.

^{¹⁶} «Pensées sur différents sujets», R. 302, cahier daté du 16 frimaire an XII [7 décembre 1802], fol. 12, note du 19 frimaire; *Pensées*, I, 33-34.

c'est maintenant Voltaire qu'il semblerait imiter: «Ma tragédie de *Zizim et Clémentine* ressemblerait trop à *Zaire*.¹⁷ Et il abandonne incontinent son projet.

Qu'à cela ne tienne: l'épopée n'est-elle pas, s'il faut en croire Chateaubriand, d'un mérite plus rare que la tragédie? Dix jours plus tard, le 29 frimaire (20 décembre), notre poète jette sur le papier les premières idées d'une *Pharsale*.¹⁸ L'influence du *Génie* y apparaît dans nombre de détails. Si Beyle se propose de peindre l'Egypte, c'est que Chateaubriand a évoqué «cette Egypte pleine de souvenirs et de tombeaux, et qui vit passer tour-à-tour les Pharaon, les Ptolémée, les solitaires de la Thébaïde, et les Soudans des Barbares». S'il se promet d'«avoir dans l'épopée la même horreur pour les portraits que dans la tragédie pour les maximes», c'est que Chateaubriand a reproché aux caractères de la *Henriade* de n'être que des portraits, et soutenu que le portrait n'est point épique. S'il note comme «vers à imiter» l'inscription de la porte de l'Enfer, s'il se prescrit d'introduire à tout prix dans son poème «ce superbe morceau ainsi que l'épisode de Francesca da Rimini qui commence par ce vers: *Noi leggevamo insieme...*», c'est que Chateaubriand a cité et admiré ces deux passages.¹⁹

L'influence du *Génie* se manifeste aussi dans le choix des passions que le poète se propose de peindre. Chateaubriand en a considéré trois: l'amour passionné, l'amour champêtre, et la religion; Beyle les peindra toutes les trois. Au reproche de fanatisme parfois adressé à la religion, Chateaubriand opposait le passage de l'*Emile* où Rousseau reconnaît que le fanatisme, quoique sanguinaire et cruel, est pourtant «une passion grande et forte»; aussi Beyle songe-t-il à introduire «la grande passion du fanatisme» dans son poème: «Cette peinture a l'avantage d'être neuve et cependant de nature à être

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 7; p. 26.

¹⁸ Cf. «*Pharsale*», R. 5896, t. XIX, fol. 76-100, notes datées du 29 frimaire an XI (20 décembre 1802) au 3 nivôse an XI (24 décembre 1802); *Mélanges de littérature*, 6^e H. Martineau (Paris: Divan, 1933), I, 325-47.

¹⁹ Cf. *Mélanges*, I, 325, et *Génie*, II, 29; *Mélanges*, I, 334, et *Génie*, II, 38-39; *Mélanges*, I, 343, et *Génie*, II, 282. Cf. aussi *Mélanges*, I, 334, et *Génie*, II, 154-55: si Beyle se demande si ses héros «doivent se tutoyer entre eux pour conserver la coutume antique» ou bien s'il doit «profiter des *tu* et des *vous* pour indiquer les différences d'affection et les mouvements des passions», c'est probablement que Chateaubriand a remarqué à propos de *Polyeucte*: «La gravité et la noblesse du caractère chrétien sont marquées jusque dans ces *vous* opposés aux *tu* de la fille de Félix: cela seul met déjà tout un monde entre le martyr Polyeucte et la payenne Pauline».

sentie de tous les hommes». ²⁰ Chateaubriand montrait quelles beautés l'amour pourrait inspirer au poète chrétien; aussi Béyle note-t-il: «Il me semble que la plus grande et la plus poétique des passions, celle qui les renferme toutes, l'amour, n'a été qu'ébauchée dans les épopées». ²¹ Il n'en sera pas ainsi dans la *Pharsale*, où l'amour sera peint sous les deux formes célébrées dans le *Génie*. Le poète songe d'abord à faire de la fille de Caton une «amante passionnée», victime d'un «combat entre son amour et ses [devoirs]»; mais bientôt il trouve mieux encore: «Faire une intrigue suivie entre la fille de Pompée et le fils de César. Pompée a prononcé des malédictions sur César comme traître à la patrie. L'amour de la fille de Pompée est contre le devoir, il est donc dramatique»; et pour conclure il se prescrit: «Prendre Atala pour modèle». ²² Il imagine d'autre part une idylle champêtre entre le Gaulois Clovis et une jeune Romaine: «Un citoyen romain dégoûté de la superbe Rome s'est retiré dans les bois de la Macédoine et y vit avec sa famille à la manière des bergers. Clovis blessé, conduit chez lui, devient amoureux de sa fille. Amour champêtre». ²³

Ce Romain déraciné se prêtera d'ailleurs à de pathétiques développements: «Dans le père les agitations de la solitude. Voir la description de Virgile. Il y a quelques traits dans saint Jérôme». Notre ancien sous-lieutenant de dragons aurait-il donc pratiqué les Pères de l'Eglise? il a du moins lu dans le *Génie* comment saint Jérôme a quitté Rome et cherché en vain une retraite au bord du Jourdain: «L'Enfer ne l'y laisse pas tranquille, et cette superbe Rome, avec tous ses charmes, lui apparoit dans les forêts pour le tourmenter. Il soutient des assauts terribles; il combat corps à corps avec ses passions». ²⁴ La *Pharsale*, si elle eût été écrite, aurait donc été tout imprégnée du *Génie du christianisme*; mais Béyle, après en avoir dressé le 3 nivôse (24 décembre) la «table générale», ne retrouva jamais plus le loisir d'y travailler.

Quelques notes de lecture, deux tragédies et une épopee avor-

²⁰ Cf. *Génie*, II, 148-49, et *Mélanges*, I, 337.

²¹ *Mélanges*, I, 344.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 326, 331.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 337. La même idée reparait dans «Caractères», R. 302, cahier daté du 9 nivôse an XI [30 décembre 1802], fol. 3 verso (inédit): «Clovis, chef des Gaulois qui sont dans l'armée de César, blessé, recueilli dans une cabane, devient amoureux de la fille de son hôte. Son caractère l'honneur, son amour champêtre, heureux à la fin du poème».

²⁴ *Mélanges*, I, 337; *Génie*, II, 150-51.

tées: la dette semble minime. Mais l'influence du *Génie* fut par ailleurs plus féconde, car c'est à Chateaubriand que Beyle doit la première idée de la méthode qu'il va élaborer pour cataloguer les passions et inventorier les situations pathétiques, afin de devenir infailliblement un grand poète dramatique. Un jour de frimaire ou de nivôse an XI (décembre 1802), dans ses «Pensées sur différents sujets», l'auteur d'*Hamlet* jetait en effet ce mémento: «Il faut absolument que je fasse un petit cahier, où j'inscrirai: *tragédie*, tous les caractères naturels, tous les caractères chevaleresques, les intrigues de toutes les belles tragédies existantes, en 6 lignes; *comédie*, tous les caractères français de Louis XIV, les caractères de nos jours, les vices haïssables, les défauts ridicules, les intrigues de toutes les belles comédies, en 6 lignes».²⁵ Effectivement, le 9 nivôse an XI (30 décembre 1802), il commençait un petit cahier qu'il intitulait «Caractères».²⁶ Le plan en était simple: il reproduisait exactement celui des livres second et troisième de la «Poétique» du *Génie du christianisme*.

Au livre second, intitulé «Poésie dans ses rapports avec les hommes. Caractères», Chateaubriand, pour «démontrer la supériorité du christianisme dans le développement des caractères», considérait les divers caractères dans les œuvres antiques et dans les œuvres modernes. Il examinait d'abord les *caractères naturels*, c'est-à-dire les époux (Ulysse et Pénélope, Adam et Ève), le père (Priam, Lusignan), la mère (Andromaque), le fils (Gusman), la fille (Iphigénie, Zaïre); puis il étudiait les *caractères sociaux*, c'est-à-dire le prêtre (la Sybille, Joad), et le guerrier (héros homériques, chevaliers chrétiens). Beyle adopte cette classification, et énumère dans le même ordre et avec les mêmes exemples les caractères naturels, époux, père, mère, fils, fille, puis les caractères sociaux, prêtre et guerrier; mais à chaque catégorie il ajoute quelques exemples nouveaux: aux époux, Hector et Andromaque, Gildipe et Odoard; au père, Brutus, Venceslas, Philippe II, Idoménée, Abraham, Jephthé, Pierre 1^{er}; au fils, Xipharès, Pharnace, Oreste, et ainsi de suite.²⁷

²⁵ «Pensées sur différents sujets», R. 302, cahier daté du 16 frimaire an XI [7 décembre 1802], fol. 11 verso; *Pensées*, I, 32-33.

²⁶ «Caractères», R. 302, cahier de 4 feuillets, daté du 9 nivôse an XI [30 décembre 1802], inédit. Nous publierons intégralement, dans un prochain numéro de *Modern philology*, les documents inédits sur lesquels nous fondons la présente étude.

²⁷ Cf. *Génie*, II^e partie, livre II, chap. ii-xii, t. II, 45-112; et «Caractères», fol. 1-2.

Au livre troisième, intitulé «Suite de la poésie dans ses rapports avec les hommes. Passions», Chateaubriand, pour montrer «que le christianisme a changé les rapports des passions en changeant les bases du vice et de la vertu», examinait, dans les œuvres antiques et dans les œuvres chrétiennes, d'abord l'amour passionné (Didon, Phèdre, Julie d'Etanges, Héloïse et Abelard), puis l'amour champêtre (le Cyclope et Galatée, Paul et Virginie), et célébrait «la religion chrétienne considérée elle-même comme passion». Beyle à son tour passe des caractères aux passions, et énumère dans le même ordre l'amour passionné, l'amour champêtre, la religion, en ajoutant encore aux exemples du *Génie* quelques exemples de son cru: à l'amour passionné, Orosmane, Othello, Oreste; à l'amour champêtre, Alexis; à la religion, Sainte-Catherine, Jacques Clément, Tartuffe et la bigote.²⁸

Cependant peut-être trouve-t-il cette liste des passions un peu courte: il y ajoute en tout cas l'ambition, l'honneur, la haine, la vengeance, l'orgueil, l'envie, l'amour de la patrie, et, sous le titre de rapport comique, l'avarice, la dissipation, l'égoïsme, le bavardage, la curiosité, etc.²⁹ Il lui vient alors une idée ingénieuse. Chateaubriand lui-même n'a-t-il pas écrit que le christianisme a, pour ainsi dire, «donné les abstractions ou les règles mathématiques des émotions de l'âme»?³⁰ Pourquoi donc ne pas essayer de réduire à une forme algébrique la classification des caractères et des passions? Beyle dresse aussitôt une nouvelle liste de passions tragiques: amour, religion, fanatisme, haine, vengeance, ambition, amour de la gloire, honneur, amour de la patrie, orgueil, envie, amitié, en désignant chacune d'entre elles par une lettre romaine. Puis il établit de nouveau la liste des caractères naturels et sociaux, en désignant chacun d'entre eux par une lettre grecque. Il sera ainsi facile de calculer toutes les combinaisons possibles des caractères et des passions.³¹

²⁸ Cf. *Génie*, II^e partie, livre III, chap. i-viii, t. II, 113-57; et «Caractères», fol. 2 verso.

²⁹ «Caractères», fol. 3. La liste intitulée «Rapp[ort] comique» est biffée d'un trait vertical.

³⁰ *Génie*, II, 115.

³¹ «Caractères», fol. 3 verso-4. Ajoutons qu'au fol. 4 verso et dernier, il dresse, sous le titre de «Machines poétiques», la liste suivante: «Apparitions: Vénus dans les bois de Carthage, Raphaël au berceau d'Eden. Songes: S. d'Enée, S. d'Athalie, Songe de Thyeste. Voyages: des Dieux, de Satan. Enfer: Entrée de l'Averne, Porte de l'Enfer de Dante, Tourments des coupables». Cette liste n'est que le sommaire des chap. x-xiv du livre V de la II^e partie du *Génie*, II, 263-89.

Deux jours plus tard, le 11 nivôse (1^{er} janvier 1803), il reprend son idée sous la forme d'un nouveau tableau, intitulé «Oppositions de caractères et de passions formant des situations tragiques».³² Il transcrit d'abord exactement la liste des six caractères naturels; mais aux deux caractères sociaux il ajoute l'amant, l'ami et l'amante: soit en tout onze caractères, qu'il désigne chacun par une lettre grecque. Il recopie ensuite la liste des passions: religion, fanatisme, haine, vengeance, ambition, amour de la gloire, honneur, amour de la patrie, envie, orgueil: soit en tout dix passions, qu'il désigne chacune par une lettre romaine.³³

Cela fait, il se met en devoir de développer l'idée qu'il avait, semble-t-il, entrevue deux jours auparavant. Dans le *Génie*, Chateaubriand avait à mainte reprise célébré les combats intérieurs de l'âme, «d'où découlent les situations les plus touchantes; mais de ces divers combats Beyle ne veut retenir que ceux dont la peinture peut émouvoir un spectateur, et il pose en principe: «Les oppositions de caractères sont tragiques. Les oppositions de caractères et de passions sont tragiques. Les oppositions de passions entre elles sont froides».³⁴ Il suffit donc de faire l'inventaire des deux premières catégories. Beyle dresse d'abord la liste des «Oppositions de caractères entre eux»: par exemple, chez les hommes, époux père, époux fils, époux prêtre, etc.; et, chez les femmes, mère fille, mère épouse, mère amante, etc.: soit au total vingt-et-un conflits possibles chez les hommes et six chez les femmes.³⁵ Il établit ensuite patiemment le catalogue des «Oppositions de caractères et de passions», c'est-à-dire des combinaisons deux à deux des onze caractères avec les dix passions: par exemple, époux religion, père religion, mère religion, etc.; époux fanatisme, père fanatisme, mère fanatisme, etc.; époux haine, père haine, mère haine, etc.: soit au total cent cinq conflits possibles.³⁶

³² «Pensées sur différents sujets», R. 302, cahier daté du 16 frimaire an XI [7 décembre 1802], fol. 9 verso-10 verso, notes datées du Jour de l'an 1803 [11 nivôse an XI], inédites. Le terme «Opposition» vient de Chateaubriand; cf. *Génie*, II, 91, à propos du caractère du prêtre: «Quand on ne lui donneroit qu'une passion malheureuse en opposition avec ses devoirs, on en feroit sortir les plus grands effets dramatiques».

³³ «Pensées sur différents sujets», fol. 9 verso. Beyle, comptant l'amant, l'amante et l'ami au nombre des caractères sociaux, a rayé l'amour et l'amitié de la liste des passions.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 10.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 10.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 10 verso-9 verso. Mathématiquement, Beyle aurait dû trouver cent dix oppositions; mais il omet le prêtre dans le calcul des oppositions des caractères avec la religion et avec le fanatisme, et l'ami dans le calcul des oppositions des caractères avec l'amour de la patrie, l'envie et l'orgueil.

Telle est l'«idée mère» que Beyle se proposera toute sa vie de développer à fond, sans y parvenir jamais. Pour le moment, d'autres travaux vont l'occuper, et d'abord l'étude de l'homme, fondement de toute bonne poétique. Le 19 nivôse an XI (29 janvier 1803), il aborde Helvétius, qui va l'absorber pendant des semaines et lui fournir les éléments essentiels d'une psychologie, d'une morale et d'une esthétique.³⁷ Entre temps, il éprouve quelques velléités de reprendre sa classification et son analyse des passions. Le 1^{er} ventôse (20 février) il note dans ses «Pensées diverses»: «La seule science que j'aie à apprendre est la connaissance des passions. Faire un cahier où elles auront chacune leur place, y rassembler les notions que j'aurai sur chacune d'elles, ou les indications des lieux où je pourrai les trouver». ³⁸ Le 15 ventôse (6 mars) il répète: «Faire un livre où je recueillerai tout ce que je trouverai de bon dans la peinture des passions, dans lequel au moins j'indiquerai les morceaux lorsqu'ils seront trop longs pour être transcrits»; il esquisse même le plan de l'ouvrage: «Passions naturelles: père, époux; —sociales: amant, ambitieux; —combats de passions, comme amour et honneur = le Cid. Caractères: les quatre âges de Boileau». ³⁹ Mais il ne trouve point le temps de mettre ces projets à exécution.

Deux mois plus tard, le 13 floréal an XI (3 mai 1803), il revient à la charge: «Quel est mon but? d'être le plus grand poète possible. Pour cela connaître parfaitement l'homme»; or, le meilleur moyen de connaître l'homme, c'est apparemment celui qu'il a ébauché quatre mois auparavant: «Appliquer les mathématiques au cœur humain, comme j'ai fait dans les *oppositions de caractères et de passions*. Suivre cette idée avec la *méthode d'invention et le langage de la passion*. C'est tout l'art. Sic itur ad astra». ⁴⁰ Le 15 floréal (5 mai), il se met résolument à

³⁷ Cf. «Pensées diverses», R. 302, cahier daté du 19 nivôse an XI (9 janvier 1803), fol. 3 verso, note du 9 pluviôse an XI (29 janvier 1803), et fol. 8 verso, note du 14 pluviôse an XI (3 février 1803); *Pensées*, I, 54, 69.

³⁸ «Pensées diverses», fol. 10, note du 1^{er} ventôse an XI (20 février 1803); *Pensées*, I, 75.

³⁹ «Pensées de Paris», R. 5890, t. XXVII, cahier daté du 21 thermidor an XI (9 août 1803), fol. 60 verso, note du 15 ventôse an XI (6 mars 1803); *Pensées*, I, 182. Notez qu'aux «caractères naturels» et aux «caractères sociaux» Beyle substitue les «passions naturelles» et les «passions sociales».

⁴⁰ R. 302, feuillets isolés, non titrés, datés au fol. 1 verso du 13 floréal an XI (3 mai 1803), notes non datées, fol. 1 et 2; *Pensées*, I, 123, 125. C'est peut-être l'*Introduction à l'analyse des sciences*, de Lancelin, dont le tome III venait de paraître, qui a réveillé les penchants mathématiques de Beyle: cf. ci-dessous, n. 57.

la besogne: «J'entreprends un livre sur l'objet des méditations de toute ma vie. C'est un traité de chaque état de l'homme en particulier». La première partie sera la description des passions: «Je commencerai en parlant de chaque passion, ou bien par rapporter les plus grandes choses qu'elle ait fait naître. Ensuite les plus belles imitations poétiques. Je déterminerai l'âge dans lequel l'homme éprouve cette passion, l'âge dans lequel il l'éprouvait chez les anciens (voir l'histoire des passions, par . . .)». Les seconde partie s'intitulera «Des oppositions de liens aux passions», et comportera «une table de toutes ces oppositions donnant des caractères touchants». La troisième traitera «du style des passions».⁴¹ Beyle n'écrivit apparemment jamais la première, ni la troisième; mais il amorça la seconde sans tarder. Le jour même, il relit la plume à la main la liste des caractères et des passions et la table des oppositions de caractères et de passions, qu'il avait ébauchées le 11 nivôse. De la liste des caractères sociaux il efface l'amant, l'ami et l'amante, car ce «sont passions et non pas devoirs», et il ajoute en conséquence à la liste des passions l'amour pour une femme, l'amour pour un homme, et l'amitié.⁴² Ensuite, sur un feuillet qu'il date «1^{er} janvier 1803—15 floréal an XI» et intitule «Opposition de liens et de passions donnant des caractères capables d'émouvoir»,⁴³ il transcrit ses deux listes ainsi revues et corrigées. Il énumère donc six «liens naturels», fils, époux, père, fille, épouse, mère, et trois «liens sociaux», car au prêtre et au guerrier il ajoute maintenant le juge; et il désigne chacun de ces liens par une lettre grecque.⁴⁴ Puis il catalogue

⁴¹ «Pensées de Paris», fol. 60 verso—62 verso, notes du 15 floréal an XI [5 mai 1803]; *Pensées*, I, 182—84. Noter qu'au terme «caractère» qu'il employait encore le 13 floréal (*«oppositions de caractères et de passions»*) il substitue maintenant le terme «lien» (*«oppositions de liens aux passions»*), qui vient d'ailleurs aussi de Chateaubriand: cf. *Génie*, II, 89: «Quant à la peinture du vice, elle peut avoir, dans le christianisme, la même vigueur que celle de la vertu, puisqu'il est vrai que le crime augmente en raison du plus grand nombre de liens que le coupable a rompus». Dans ses «Pensées sur différents sujets», fol. 7 verso, Beyle avait déjà transcrit l'essentiel de cette phrase: «Le crime augmente en raison du plus grand nombre de liens que le coupable a rompus».

⁴² Ces corrections ne sont pas datées, mais rien ne permet de supposer que Beyle ait revu son travail du 11 nivôse avant de le remettre sur le métier le 15 floréal.

⁴³ «Opposition de liens et de passions donnant des caractères capables d'émouvoir», R. 302, llasse, feuillet isolé, notes datées du 1^{er} janvier 1803—15 floréal an XI, inédites. Noter que Beyle y adopte définitivement «lien», et n'emploie plus «caractère» qu'au sens dramatique.

⁴⁴ Il avait d'abord commencé à les énumérer dans l'ordre: époux, père, fils; puis il continue dans un ordre différent: fille, épouse, mère; et finalement il donne à chaque lien un numéro, pour aboutir à l'ordre: 1 fils, 2 époux, 3 père, 4 fille, 5 épouse, 6 mère, 7 prêtre, 8 guerrier, 9 juge.

les passions, religion, fanatisme, haine, vengeance, ambition, amour de la gloire, amour de la patrie, honneur, orgueil, vanité, amour pour une femme, amour pour un homme, amitié, crainte, terreur; et il désigne chacune d'entre elles par une lettre romaine.⁴⁵ La liste s'est donc allongée de cinq passions;⁴⁶ Beyle y ajoute en outre pour la première fois une observation qu'il développera plus tard longuement: «L'hypocrisie s'offre à toutes les passions pour parvenir à leurs fins».

Il reprend ensuite la question des combats intérieurs de l'âme: «La différence de la manière dont on présente les oppositions forme les différents genres. Tout le poète dramatique est dans la connaissance 1^o des liens naturels, 2^o des sociaux, 3^o des passions, 4^o de la manière de les opposer de façon à produire un effet de tel genre. Les oppositions de liens et de passions sont tragiques, de liens entre eux sont un peu attendrissantes, de passions entre elles sont froides». Ces principes posés, le mathématicien reparait pour calculer le nombre des combinaisons possibles des 9 liens et des 15 passions: «Il y a: liens naturels, 6; liens sociaux, 3; [total] 9. Toutes ces forces, pour être tragiques, ne doivent se combiner que deux à deux. Combinées 3 à 3, 4 à 4, xⁿ, que donnent-elles? Les liens combinés avec les passions 2 à 2 donnent 135 combinaisons».⁴⁷ Après quoi, Beyle reprend sa définition de l'hypocrisie «moyen des passions»; mais surtout il conçoit l'idée féconde de rendre une passion plus ou moins comique en la pliant plus ou moins aux usages.

Si là s'était borné le travail du 15 floréal, il n'eût point marqué de progrès décisif sur celui du 11 nivôse. Mais notre philosophe se rend compte que cette nomenclature reste trop abstraite et trop absolue. Helvétius lui a appris l'influence des lois sur les passions et les moeurs; mais Buffon lui a rappelé l'influence des climats; et de lui-même, vers le 21 pluviôse (10 février), il a découvert la formule: «Mœurs = lois

⁴⁵ Exempté l'amour pour une femme, l'amour pour un homme et l'amitié, qui, classés le 1^{er} janvier parmi les caractères, sont encore désignés par leurs lettres grecques.

⁴⁶ La crainte et la terreur, ajoutées après coup et sans lettre distinctive à la liste du 1^{er} janvier, sont maintenant désignées par a et k. Beyle ajoutera encore après coup à la présente liste, et sans lettre distinctive, l'avarice, la lâcheté et la misanthropie.

⁴⁷ C'est vraisemblablement vers la même date qu'il faut placer un curieux calcul noté par Beyle dans ses «Pensées sur différents sujets», fol. 11 verso. Il y énumère 6 caractères naturels masculins dans un ordre analogue à celui du 15 floréal, puis calcule le nombre des combinaisons différentes de ces 6 caractères opposés deux à deux.

plus climat.⁴⁸ *De la littérature*, qu'il commence à lire le 29 ventôse (20 mars), ne peut que le confirmer dans cette opinion.⁴⁹ Aussi introduit-il dans sa classification des passions la notion de la relativité: «L'homme a des penchants différents suivant le climat et la législation. J'appellerai ceux que donnent plus ou moins tous les climats et toutes les législations penchants naturels». Mais, continuant à appliquer les mathématiques au cœur humain, il s'efforce de formuler algébriquement l'influence combinée de ces deux facteurs sur tel penchant donné: «En nommant un penchant naturel *a*, un climat *c*, une législation *l*, chaque penchant pour être exprimé exactement devra donc être écrit = *acl*. Lorsque *c* et *l* tendent à rendre *a* le plus grand possible, j'écrirai *Acl'* = *A'*; lorsque *c* seul tendra à rendre [*a*] le plus grand possible, j'écrirai *Ac'l*. Une passion sera la plus grande possible lorsqu'elle se fera sacrifier toutes les autres passions de l'individu». Quant à l'influence des lois, Beyle prend pour base la société la moins compliquée qui ait été observée, les sauvages chasseurs de l'Amérique, chez qui l'on trouve cependant les liens naturels, les liens sociaux et les passions. Quant à l'influence du climat, il divise le monde en cinq zones; mais, supposant que les effets du froid sont les mêmes au pôle austral et au pôle septentrional, il n'en retient que trois, la froide, la tempérée, la chaude. En désignant par *S* la société et par *C*, *C'* et *C''* chacune des trois zones, on pourra exprimer par *SC*, *SC'* et *SC''* ce que deviendra la société primitive sous l'influence des divers climats.⁵⁰ C'est déjà, dès 1803, l'essentiel de la doctrine dont Beyle allait, dix-sept ans plus tard, faire une application particulière à la passion de l'amour.⁵¹

⁴⁸ «Pensées diverses», R. 302, cahier daté du 19 nivôse an XI [9 janvier 1803], fol. 9 verso; *Pensées*, I, 72. Cf. «Pensées de Paris», R. 5896, t. XXVII, cahier daté du 21 thermidor an XI [9 août 1803], fol. 55; *Pensées*, I, 173: «Lois + × climat = mœurs».

⁴⁹ Cf. «Pensées de Mme de Staél extraites de l'influence de la littérature etc.», R. 5896, t. XXVII, fol. 22-25 verso, cahier daté du 29 ventôse an XI [20 mars 1803].

⁵⁰ «Opposition de liens et de passions donnant des caractères capables d'émouvoir», R. 302, feuillet isolé, notes datées du 1^{er} janvier 1803—15 floréal an XI, inédites. On trouvera dans les «Pensées de Paris», sous la même date du 15 floréal an XI, une autre version de ce développement: cf. R. 5896, t. XXVII, cahier daté du 21 thermidor an XI, fol. 54-54 verso; *Pensées*, I, 172-73. Peut-être l'idée de suivre le développement des passions dans ses rapports avec le perfectionnement de la société a-t-elle été suggérée à Beyle par la lecture du livre *De l'esprit*, discours III, chap. ix.

⁵¹ Il remarque déjà aussi, dans le passage en question, que les passions varient avec les individus, que deux hommes emploieront pour posséder leur maîtresse des moyens différents, et que la même femme ne saurait rendre deux hommes également amoureux.

Il n'est malgré tout pas encore satisfait de sa classification;⁵² et le 27 floréal (17 mai) il entreprend de la refaire sur de nouvelles bases. Aux «liens naturels» il substitue maintenant les «passions naturelles»; et, outre le fils, le frère, l'époux, le père, la fille, la sœur, l'épouse, la mère, il y fait entrer d'une part la religion, d'autre part les besoins physiques, faim, soif, envie de coucher avec une femme. Quant aux «liens sociaux», il les conserve, en se contentant d'y ajouter le citoyen. A la liste des passions il n'apporte guère de changements: il en efface la religion et l'amour de la patrie, mais y ajoute, outre l'égoïsme, l'ennui, «état qui devient force», et la paresse, «force retardante», qu'il déclare susceptibles d'être combinés «avec les passions naturelles et les liens sociaux». Il définit toujours l'hypocrisie comme un «moyen offert à toutes les passions»; mais il amorce une catégorie nouvelle intitulée «états», où il place la pitié et le mépris; et il donne de la passion une définition manifestement inspirée d'Helvétius: «Un désir continu forme passion. Moins l'homme a de passions plus elles sont fortes, une passion est à son plus haut point lorsqu'elle l'emporte même sur l'amour de la vie.»⁵³ Ces corrections et ces additions ne modifient point essentiellement la doctrine: peut-être Beyle perdit-il courage: «J'ai encore bien des choses à découvrir dans ce genre-là», nota-t-il en marge de sa liste des passions; mais ce jour-là il ne poussa pas plus loin ses recherches.

Il quitta d'ailleurs Paris quelques semaines plus tard pour rentrer à Grenoble, où il arriva le 5 messidor (24 juin). C'est là que, le 30 fructidor (17 septembre), «ayant pris médecine et lu ensuite tout le jour», il reprend pour se délasser sa «superbe idée mère du 1^{er} janvier

⁵² Signalons pour mémoire qu'il en indique quelques applications possibles les 16 et 17 floréal (6 et 7 mai): cf. «Pensées sur différents sujets», R. 302, cahier daté du 16 frimaire an XI [7 décembre 1802], fol. 12 verso, notes du 16 floréal an XI; *Pensées*, I, 36; et «Pensées», R. 5896, t. VII, cahier daté du 30 germinal an XI [20 avril 1803], fol. 6, notes du 17 floréal an XI; *Pensées*, I, 106.

⁵³ R. 5896, t. I, fol. 120 verso, demi-feuillet daté du 27 floréal an XI [17 mai 1803], inédit. Sur la passion définie comme la continuité d'un désir prédominant, cf. Helvétius, *De l'esprit* (Paris: Durand, 1758), discours IV, chap. II, p. 492; sur la force des passions inversement proportionnelle à leur nombre, cf. *ibid.*, chap. XVI, pp. 623-24; sur la passion à son plus haut point, cf. *ibid.*, discours III, chap. VI, p. 298. Beyle avait acquis la plupart de ces idées dès le 9 pluviose an XI [29 janvier 1803]: cf. *Correspondance*, I, 88; il les reprendra souvent par la suite. Tout le passage révèle d'ailleurs l'influence d'Helvétius, notamment l'importance attachée à l'ennui et à la paresse, et la distinction entre les passions naturelles et les passions proprement dites, qui rappelle la distinction d'Helvétius entre les besoins et les passions factices.

1803».⁵⁴ En haut d'un feuillet de son «Recueil de traits, anecdotes, etc. etc.», il note d'abord le principe directeur de toutes ses études philosophiques et littéraires: «Déterminer les causes du plaisir que nous éprouvons au théâtre et de là les moyens de le porter à son maximum». Puis il se rappelle la règle qu'il avait déjà formulée à plusieurs reprises: «Il n'y a de vrai caractère tragique que celui qui est fondé sur l'opposition d'un lien et d'une passion. Zaïre: l'amour et la religion. Il définit ensuite les trois termes essentiels de cette proposition fondamentale. «Le lien, moralement parlant, est la crainte des maux que nous attireraient le mépris, la haine ou la vengeance des hommes ou des dieux, si nous manquions à une promesse que nous avons faite tacitement ou solennellement». Quant à la passion, il répète presque littéralement la définition du 27 floréal: «Une passion est la continuité du désir d'une même chose. Son effet est de nous faire conduire à chaque instant de la manière que nous croyons la plus propre à obtenir l'objet de nos vœux. Son extrême maximum est de nous faire dire: j'obtiendrai telle chose, sinon je me donnerai la mort». Pour le caractère, il le considère d'un point de vue purement moral, en dehors de tout rapport naturel ou social: «J'appelle caractère la somme des désirs qui affectent un personnage. Le caractère de Phèdre est la somme de ses désirs depuis: *N'allons pas plus avant*, jusqu'à: *toute sa pureté*, plus ce que les autres personnages nous disent d'elle».⁵⁵

Ces points établis, il dresse une fois de plus la liste des «liens naturels», fils, époux, père, fille, épouse, mère, et des «liens sociaux», prêtre, guerrier, juge, en suivant exactement l'ordre adopté le 15 floréal; mais il admet maintenant une troisième catégorie de liens, les «liens envers les dieux», où il place le religieux, dont le sublime est le fanatique. Il dresse ensuite la liste des passions, haine, vengeance, ambition, amour de la gloire, honneur, amour de la patrie, envie, orgueil, amour, amitié, crainte, terreur, qu'il désigne chacune par une lettre romaine. Cela fait, il recopie la liste des liens naturels, des liens sociaux et des liens célestes, qu'il désigne maintenant chacun par une

⁵⁴ Cf. «Recueil de traits, anecdotes, etc. etc. appris à Grenoble depuis le 5 messidor an XI jour de mon arrivée jusqu'au . . .», R. 302, notes datées du 30 fructidor an XI (17 septembre 1803), fol. 2-6 verso. Les fol. 2-2 verso ont été publiés dans les *Pensees*, I, 221-23; les fol. 3-6 verso sont inédits. On trouvera une autre version de cette étude dans «Auteurs que je puis lire», R. 302, llasse, cahier non daté, fol. 2-5.

⁵⁵ «Recueil de traits», fol. 2-2 verso; *Pensees*, I, 221-23.

lettre grecque. Il lui sera ainsi facile de formuler algébriquement toutes les combinaisons possibles des neuf liens et des douze passions.⁵⁶

D'autre part, il ajoute à sa classification des catégories nouvelles. D'abord les «états du corps», faim, soif, sommeil, amour, etc.; puis les «états de l'âme», joie, allégresse, gaîté, tristesse, abattement, mélancolie, etc.; et enfin les «habitudes morales», bavardage, irrésolution, inconstance, mensonge, etc. Mais surtout il ajoute maintenant à la recherche des situations pathétiques celle des situations comiques. Pour chacune des catégories, liens, états du corps, états de l'âme, habitudes morales, il indique par les lettres T, C, ou TC les ressources tragiques ou comiques qu'on en peut tirer; et il dresse une longue liste de «passions comiques», qu'il définit comme des «habitudes causées dans le principe par l'avarice, la libéralité, la générosité, la prodigalité, l'économie, etc., préludant ainsi à sa découverte prochaine que l'homme ne saurait être comique par ses passions, mais seulement par ses habitudes ou ses moyens de passion.⁵⁷ L'étude du 30 fructidor marque donc à beaucoup d'égards un progrès décisif sur celles des 9 nivôse, 11 nivôse, 15 floréal et 27 floréal.

Le 18 germinal an XII (8 avril 1804), Beyle rentrait à Paris, plus déterminé que jamais à devenir un grand poète dramatique. Il avait fait à Grenoble une découverte qu'il croyait capitale pour la connaissance de l'homme: la distinction entre l'esprit et le cœur; aussi, dès son retour, reprit-il ses lectures philosophiques avec une nouvelle

⁵⁶ «Recueil de traits», fol. 3-4. C'est après coup, semble-t-il, que Beyle ajoute aux liens sociaux, sans leur attribuer de lettre distinctive, un certain nombre de métiers, procureur, avocat, médecin, apothicaire, charpentier, cordonnier, etc.; et qu'il ajoute aux passions la vanité, la cupidité, l'avarice et l'émination, qu'il désigne respectivement par les lettres a^o, a^e, a^m et g^r.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 4 verso-6 verso. Noter au fol. 6 une définition des vices et des vertus extraite de Lancelin: «Les passions prennent nom de vices lorsqu'elles sont nuisibles à l'individu et à la société, vertus lorsqu'elles sont utiles à l'une et à l'autre ou à l'un des deux seulement sans nuire à l'autre». Cf. P. F. Lancelin, *Introduction à l'analyse des sciences*, t. II (Paris: Fuchs, an XI—1802), chap. I, «Génération des passions et des habitudes morales; de l'amour de soi, premier principe moteur de l'homme», p. 31: «Si ces passions sont nuisibles à l'individu et à la société où il vit, ce sont des *vices* qu'il faut travailler à prévenir et à déraciner; si elles sont utiles à l'une ou à l'autre, ce sont des *vertus* qu'il faut faire germer, nourrir et développer par toutes sortes de soins et de moyens». Cf. *Correspondance*, I, 127. Cette définition s'accordait d'ailleurs avec celle d'Helvétius. Quant aux «habitudes morales», elles viennent aussi de Lancelin, ainsi que quelques-uns des «passions comiques». Dans cette dernière catégorie, Beyle suit en effet l'ordre adopté par l'auteur de l'*Introduction*, qui, au chapitre cité, étudiait successivement l'avarice (pp. 26-27), la libéralité et la générosité (pp. 27-28), la prodigalité (p. 28), l'économie (p. 28), la bienveillance (pp. 28-29), l'égoïsme et l'inhumanité (pp. 29-31). Beyle, qui avait d'abord placé lui aussi la bienveillance après l'économie, l'a ensuite placée parmi les habitudes morales.

ardeur. Le 24 germinal (14 avril), il commence Vauvenargues;⁵⁸ et bientôt, dans les «Réflexions sur divers sujets», à la page 136, il tombe sur le paragraphe «De l'âme», et il est tout surpris de lire: «Il sert peu d'avoir de l'esprit lorsque l'on n'a point d'âme. C'est l'âme qui forme l'esprit et qui lui donne l'essor. . .»⁵⁹ Il n'en peut douter, Vauvenargues a distingué avant lui le cœur de l'esprit, et il note tout penaud dans ses papiers: «136. De l'âme, all my découverte is in this paragraphe».⁶⁰ Le 1^{er} floréal (21 avril), à peine a-t-il fermé Vauvenargues qu'il rouvre l'*Introduction à l'analyse des sciences*, de Lancelin; et dès les premières pages il s'aperçoit que Lancelin a distingué lui aussi la tête et le cœur ou l'âme.⁶¹ Mais il n'en est que plus sûr de l'excellence de ce système: «La division de l'âme et de l'esprit m'éclaire de plus en plus», note-t-il le 3 floréal (23 avril) dans son *Journal*; le 18 prairial (7 juin), il explique à Pauline qu'il appelle cœur le centre des sentiments, et tête ou cerveau le centre des idées, et conclut: «Je reviendrai une autre fois sur cette idée, qui est un flambeau qui éclaire bien dans la connaissance de l'homme»; effectivement, le 21 prairial (10 juin), il lui répète: «L'homme moral se divise en cœur ou centre des passions, et en tête ou centre de combinaisons et de jugements. On peut parvenir avec de la sincérité à connaître à peu près son cœur; il faut avoir bien peu d'orgueil pour connaître sa tête, et, comme on en a toujours, jamais on ne la connaît bien»; et le 24 prairial (13 juin) il se prescrit

⁵⁸ Cf. *Journal*, I, 64. Ce n'était d'ailleurs pas son premier contact avec Vauvenargues, dont il avait déjà transcrit des extraits dans ses «Pensées sur différents sujets» en frimaire an XI.

⁵⁹ Vauvenargues, *Introduction à la connaissance de l'esprit humain, suivie de réflexions et de maximes* (Paris: Briasson, 1746), p. 136.

⁶⁰ R. 302, double feuillet isolé, non daté, fol. 1 verso; *Pensées*, I, 197. Ce double feuillet renferme, fol. 1-2, des extraits de la p. 84 à la p. 330 de l'*Introduction*, 6^e de 1746.

⁶¹ Cf. *Journal*, I, 71. Cf. P. F. Lancelin, *Introduction à l'analyse des sciences* (Paris: t. I, Didot, an IX—1801; t. II, Fuchs, an IX—1802; t. III, Fuchs, an XI—1803). Dans son «Discours préliminaire», I, xvij, Lancelin annonce qu'il va dresser un tableau de ses idées et de ses sentiments, «en un mot faire mes efforts pour décomposer ma tête et mon cœur (cette portion de notre être qu'on appelle l'âme ou le moral de l'homme) en parties très distinctes». Une note des «Pensées diverses», R. 5896, t. XXVII, cahier daté du 13 thermidor an XI [1^{er} août 1803], fol. 6 (*Pensées*, I, 127), prouve que Beyle se proposait alors de dérouiller le t. III de l'*Introduction*; nous avons montré plus haut que le 30 fructidor an XI [17 septembre 1803] il s'inspirait d'un chapitre du t. II; mais rien n'indique qu'il ait commencé avant le 1^{er} floréal an XII [21 avril 1804] le t. I, qu'il avait apparemment laissé à Paris en rentrant à Grenoble. Nous ne prétendons point étudier ici en détail la dette de Beyle envers Lancelin; d'ailleurs M. Jules Alciatore publiera prochainement un article sur ce sujet.

dans ses «Pensées»: «Pousser ma discussion du cœur et de la tête».⁶³ Mais il a retrouvé d'autre part, au tome II de l'*Introduction*, le chapitre de la «Génération des passions et des habitudes morales», dont il s'était déjà inspiré quelques mois auparavant, et il songe de nouveau à son grand projet de classification et de description des passions: «Faire un cahier de 200 pages environ. Le diviser en parties de 10 pages, à la tête de chacune de ces parties copier le nom d'une passion (d'après le petit traité de Lancelin), et indiquer dans les dix pages les traits de cette passion qu'on a occasion d'observer ou de lire dans l'histoire, et dans une classe à part ceux qu'on lit dans les fictions (poèmes, romans)».⁶⁴ Il n'avait pas encore commencé ce travail quand, le 26 prairial (15 juin), à la Bibliothèque Nationale, il découvrit un ouvrage qui tout de suite l'enthousiasma: le mince traité *De la nature humaine*, de Hobbes. Le jour même, il en copie quelques pages; le lendemain, il prend la résolution de l'extraire «depuis le commencement jusqu'à la fin». Il y apprend notamment que l'homme se compose d'un esprit et d'un corps, que le corps a trois facultés, la nutritive, la motrice, la générative, et que l'esprit en a deux, connaître ou concevoir, imaginer ou se mouvoir; et surtout il y trouve, au chapitre ix, une analyse des passions, dont il copie ou résume inlassablement des pages entières dans son «Cahier portatif d'extraits».⁶⁵

C'est le 3 messidor (22 juin) que Beyle achève de dépouiller *De la nature humaine*,⁶⁶ c'est le lendemain 4 messidor (23 juin) qu'enflammé

⁶³ *Journal*, I, 72. *Correspondance*, I, 186. *Ibid.*, p. 183. «Mes pensées», cahier daté du 27 floréal an XII [17 mai 1804], fol. 27 verso, note du 24 prairial an XII [13 juin 1804]; *Pensées*, I, 302. Nous ne relevons ici que quelques unes des nombreuses allusions que Beyle fait à cette époque à sa division de la tête et du cœur. Nous justifierons ailleurs la date du 21 prairial an XII [10 juin 1804] que nous proposons pour une lettre à Pauline que la *Correspondance*, I, 181-85, date de mai 1804.

⁶⁴ R. 302, double feuillet isolé, non daté, fol. 2 verso; *Pensées*, I, 199. Cette note, écrite au verso du dernier feuillet des extraits de Vauvenargues, ne saurait être antérieure au 1^{er} floréal, et est probablement contemporaine de la lettre du 21 prairial à Pauline; cf. *Correspondance*, I, 184, où Beyle recommande à sa sœur de composer un cahier du même genre. Par «le petit traité de Lancelin» Beyle entendait évidemment le chapitre «De la génération des passions et des habitudes morales», où Lancelin étudiait brièvement la joie, l'allégresse, la tristesse, l'envie, l'émulation, la jalouse, l'ambition, l'orgueil, la modestie, la vanité, l'amour, l'avarice, la libéralité, la générosité, la prodigalité, l'économie, la bienveillance, l'égoïsme et l'inhumanité.

⁶⁵ «Mes pensées», fol. 12, note du 26 prairial an XII [15 juin 1804]; *Pensées*, I, 266. Cf. Hobbes, *De la nature humaine* (Londres, 1772). Nous reviendrons ailleurs sur l'étude que Beyle fit alors de cet ouvrage.

⁶⁶ «Cahier portatif d'extraits», R. 5896, t. XXVIII, cahier daté du 1^{er} messidor an XII [20 juin 1804], fol. 33: «Fini de lire la Nat. Hum. de Hobbes le 3 messidor an XII».

d'un beau zèle il entreprend enfin sa «Filosofia nova», cette philosophie nouvelle dont il rêve depuis quelques mois et dont le dogme fondamental sera la distinction entre le cœur ou l'âme et la tête ou l'esprit.⁶⁶ Mais peut-être sa doctrine n'est-elle pas aussi neuve qu'il l'imagine. En fait, le plan qu'il jette ce jour-là sur le papier ne fait guère que combiner des idées empruntées à Vauvenargues, à Lancelin et à Hobbes: «Voici le squelette. Dans son livre *De la nature humaine*, Hobbes a la division qui fait la base de la filosofia nova. L'homme est composé 1^o d'un corps; 2^o d'une tête ou centre de combinaisons; 3^o d'un cœur ou âme, centre de passions». Pour sa part, il ne s'occupera que très sommairement du corps, et se contentera de tirer de Cabanis quelques vérités claires. Quant à la tête, tous les métaphysiciens s'en sont occupés, notamment Locke, Condillac, Lancelin, etc.; aussi se borne-t-il à distinguer le pouvoir conceptif, la mémoire et l'imagination. C'est en effet l'âme qui l'intéresse avant tout, et particulièrement l'influence de la tête sur l'âme et de l'âme sur la tête.⁶⁷ Mais il se rend compte le 11 messidor (30 juin) que pour élucider cette question il conviendrait d'abord d'étudier les passions dont l'âme est le centre: «M'occuper tout de suite de l'analyse de chaque passion. Cela me rendra plus facile à décrire l'action de l'âme sur la tête et de la tête sur l'âme»; et il a tout naturellement recours à sa méthode de floréal et de fructidor an XI: «Commencer par une bonne division des passions, états de passion, habitudes, etc.».⁶⁸

Sans perdre un instant il se met à la besogne. Il esquisse d'abord une brève définition des passions, états de passion et moyens de passion: «Une passion est une suite de désirs qu'une telle chose arrive. Toute passion peut passer par divers états, la crainte, l'espérance, la jouissance, le désespoir. Toute passion a divers moyens de réussir, tels que l'hypocrisie dont une des branches est la flatterie». Il dresse ensuite la liste des passions, amour, haine, jalouse, envie, orgueil, etc., des états de passion, crainte, espérance, colère, pleurs, rire, etc., et des moyens de passion, hypocrisie, flatterie, etc. Pour la première fois, il

⁶⁶ «Premier cahier. Filosofia nova», R. 5896, t. XXIV, cahier daté de messidor an XII, fol. 1-13 verso; *Pensées*, II, 113-34 (omettent les fol. 10 verso-13 verso, qui sont inédits). Le premier fragment daté, fol. 3, est du 4 messidor an XII [23 juin 1804]. Voir note ci-dessous.

⁶⁷ «Premier cahier. Filosofia nova», fol. 3-4; *Pensées*, II, 119-22.

⁶⁸ «Premier cahier. Filosofia nova», fol. 9 verso; *Pensées*, II, 133.

tente de définir ces derniers, en faisant ressortir leur rapport avec les mœurs: «Dans l'histoire des passions d'un homme, il y a à considérer les moyens qu'il a de les satisfaire, or ces moyens consistent dans l'influence qu'il a sur ceux de qui dépend l'objet de ses vœux. Les objets de la majeure partie des passions dépendent des contemporains. Les moyens d'influer sur eux changent suivant leurs habitudes et leurs passions. Ainsi les signes du pouvoir du temps de Hobbes (1640) en Angleterre ne sont plus les signes du pouvoir en France et en 1804».⁶⁹ Puis il passe aux habitudes de l'âme, l'inconstant, l'insouciant, le passionné pour tout, le bavard, le taciturne, etc., et aux habitudes de l'esprit, dont il ne cite pour exemple que le distract. Enfin, il tire de Hobbes quelques définitions de passions ou d'états de l'âme, vainqueur, gloire, courage, vengeance, repentir, espérance, défiance, etc.⁷⁰

Ce ne sont là que préliminaires. Sur un feuillet qu'il orne en tête d'un écu chevonné, Beyle jette le plan de son étude. Il pose d'abord son sujet: «L'âme est l'ensemble des passions». Puis il en annonce les divisions. Il considérera d'abord les passions prises individuellement: «^{1º} Je fais la liste de toutes les passions; ^{2º} de tous les états de passion; ^{3º} moyens de passion». Puis il examinera l'âme elle-même en tant que réunion des passions: «^{1º} Certaines passions ont l'habitude d'en vaincre d'autres, dès qu'elles sont réveillées par certaines sensations ou souvenirs. J'appelle cela habitudes de l'âme. Ces habitudes renferment les vices et les vertus. J'en fais la liste. ^{2º} Certaines sensations mettent l'âme dans un certain état qui devient habitude, j'appelle cela états de l'âme, j'en fais la liste».⁷¹ Effectivement, sur une série de feuillets qu'il intitule «De l'âme», il commence par dresser une liste des

⁶⁹ R. 302, double feuilletté, isolé, non daté, fol. 1, inédit (sauf le dernier paragraphe, *Pensées*, II, 263). Cette ébauche est nécessairement postérieure au 3 messidor an XII [22 juin 1804], date à laquelle Beyle lut le § 19 du chap. ix de Hobbes; il cite en effet parmi les passions «la passion qui fait que nous aimons à voir deux armées se charger du haut d'une maison où nous sommes en sûreté»: cf. *De la nature humaine*, p. 108; et «Cahier portatif d'extraits», fol. 27 verso; *Pensées*, II, 92. Quant aux considérations sur les moyens de passion et les signes du pouvoir, elles ont été inspirées par le § 5, chap. vii, et les §§ 3, 4 et 5, chap. viii, de la *Nature humaine*.

⁷⁰ «Habitudes de l'âme», R. 5896, t. II, fol. 180-81 verso. Ces feuillets ne sont pas datés; mais ils ne sauraient être antérieurs au 26 prairial an XII [15 juin 1804], puisque les définitions de la vainqueur, du courage, de la vengeance, du repentir, de l'espérance, fol. 181 verso, sont extraites du chap. ix de la *Nature humaine* de Hobbes. D'autre part la liste des habitudes de l'âme, fol. 180, est apparemment antérieure de peu à celle du fragment «De l'âme», que Beyle date du 11 messidor: cf. ci-dessous, n. 72. Nous croyons donc pouvoir considérer les feuillets en question comme la suite du feuilletté décrit dans la note ci-dessus.

⁷¹ R. 302, feuilletté isolé, non daté, orné en tête d'un écu chevonné, inédit.

passions, telles que l'amour, la jalousie, la haine, l'envie, l'orgueil, etc.; une liste des états de passion, tels que la terreur, la crainte, l'espérance, la fureur, la colère, etc.; et une liste des moyens de passion, tels que le mépris, moyen de la colère.⁷² Ensuite, conformément à son plan, il passe aux habitudes de l'âme. D'abord il les définit: «Lorsqu'une passion revient très souvent dans une âme et est ordinairement excitée par certaines sensations ou certains souvenirs, je dis que cette âme a l'habitude de cette passion»; puis il les divise en deux catégories: «Il y a des habitudes nuisibles ou utiles qui ont été nommées Vices ou Vertus (défauts et qualités)»; et enfin il les énumère: les vertus telles que la clémence, la justice, la générosité, ou les qualités telles que la modestie, la bienveillance, l'économie; et les vices tels que l'irrésolution, la cruauté, l'inhumanité, ou les défauts tels que la timidité, la fatuité, l'esprit de contradiction. Après les habitudes de l'âme, il examine les états de l'âme, «tableau des forces de toutes les passions d'une âme prises dans le même moment», tels que l'irrésolution, l'inconstance, l'indolence.⁷³ Et pour terminer il amorce une «Description des différentes manières dont l'amour-propre se modifie dans chaque passion, état de passion, habitude de l'âme, etc., etc.», qui n'est qu'une série de définitions du courage, de la colère, de la vengeance, etc., pour la plupart extraites presque littéralement de Hobbes.⁷⁴

Ce plan et ces listes, Beyle les relit, les corrige et les transcrit le jour même, sous leur forme définitive, dans son premier cahier de «Filosofia nova»;⁷⁵ et le lendemain 12 messidor (1^{er} juillet) c'est par sa description des différentes formes de l'amour-propre qu'il commence son deuxième cahier de «Filosofia nova».⁷⁶ Il est apparemment si satisfait

⁷² «De l'âme», R. 302, feuillet isolé, non numéroté, daté du 11 messidor an XII [30 juin 1804], inédit. Au verso de ce feuillet, Beyle a ébauché une étude des états de l'âme et des habitudes de l'âme, qu'il a ensuite biffée.

⁷³ R. 5896, t. XV, fol. 166, non daté, inédit. Ce feuillet, du même papier et de la même écriture que le feuillet «De l'âme», en est évidemment la suite: on y retrouve les mêmes définitions des habitudes et des états de l'âme. On reconnaîtra, dans ces définitions et ces classifications, l'influence de Lancelin.

⁷⁴ Précisons que cette «Description» ne fait que reprendre et développer les notes de R. 5896, t. II, fol. 181 verso: cf. ci-dessus n. 70.

⁷⁵ «Premier cahier. Filosofia nova», R. 5896, t. XXIV, fol. 10-13 verso, notes intitulées «De l'âme», datées du 11 messidor an XII [30 juin 1804]; *Pensées*, II, 134 (omettent les fol. 10 verso-13 verso).

⁷⁶ «2^e cahier. Filosofia nova», R. 5896, t. XXIV, fol. 20-24, notes intitulées «Description des différentes manières dont l'amour-propre se modifie dans chaque passion, état de passion, habitude de l'âme, etc., etc.», datées du 12 messidor an XII [1^{er} juillet 1804]; *Pensées*, II, 148-56.

de ces élucubrations qu'il en communique quelques jours plus tard l'essentiel à sa sœur Pauline. Il lui rappelle d'abord sa distinction fondamentale entre le corps, l'âme et la tête. Il lui explique ensuite les rapports de ces trois parties de l'homme et la formation des habitudes. Il lui résume enfin sa classification des passions, états de passion, moyens de passion et habitudes de l'âme: «Encore un mot: il y a des passions, l'amour, la vengeance, la haine, l'orgueil, la vanité, l'amour de la gloire. Il y a des états de passion: la terreur, la crainte, la fureur, le rire, les pleurs, la joie, la tristesse, l'inquiétude. Je les appelle états de passion, parce que plusieurs passions différentes peuvent nous rendre terrifiés, craignants, furieux, riants, pleurants, etc. Il y a ensuite les moyens de passion, comme l'hypocrisie. Il y a encore les habitudes de l'âme: il y en a de nuisibles, il y en a d'utiles; nous nommons les utiles vertus, les nuisibles vices. —Vertus: justice, clémence, probité, etc., etc.—Vices: cruauté. Et vertus moins utiles ou qualités: modestie, bienfaisance, bienveillance, sagesse, etc.—Vices moins nuisibles ou défauts: fatuité, esprit de contradiction, le menteur, l'impertinence, le mystérieux, la timidité, la distraction, etc.⁷⁷

La classification empruntée le 9 nivôse an XI à Chateaubriand s'est donc, en quelque dix-huit mois, singulièrement enrichie et compliquée, sous l'influence d'Helvétius, de Vauvenargues, de Lancelin et de Hobbes. A vrai dire, elle est devenue presque méconnaissable: si l'analyse des passions y est poussée beaucoup plus loin, par contre la catégorie des liens et la théorie des combats entre liens et passions semblent avoir disparu. Beyle ne les a cependant pas tout à fait oubliées. Le 7 thermidor (26 juillet), il introduit en effet dans son «Deuxième cahier des pensées» quelques considérations sur les liens. Il en donne la définition: «Chaque homme a plusieurs sortes de liens avec ses contemporains, chacun de ces liens ou *contrats* est plus ou moins cher. Il est plus cher à mesure que la personne est plus près de nous». Il s'efforce de déterminer le nombre des contrats qu'admettent ses contemporains, et conclut qu'en 1804 un homme de la meilleure compagnie est lié: «1^o avec ses parents, 2^o avec ses amis, 3^o ensuite par

⁷⁷ Correspondance, I, 273-75. Dans la Correspondance, éd. Ad. Paupe et P.-A. Chéramy (Paris: Bosse, 1908), I, 112-14, cette lettre était datée: «An XII (1804)». L'édition H. Martineau la date sans explication: «An XIII (1804)». Nous proposons d'y voir la suite de la lettre du 18 messidor an XII, et nous nous réservons de justifier ailleurs cette hypothèse.

un contrat distinct avec chacune de toutes les classes de la société». Et il observe que le nombre et le prix des contrats changent avec les siècles: «Par exemple, nous n'avons plus les contrats que chaque Thébain de la légion sacrée avait avec son amant, que tout chevalier avait avec son frère d'armes, que chaque mari d'Italie a de nos jours avec le sigisbée de sa femme, que chaque chevalier avait avec sa dame, etc., etc. Tous contrats qu'on ne pouvait enfreindre sans s'exposer à une peine».⁷⁸ D'autre part, le 12 thermidor (31 juillet), dans son cahier intitulé «Suite, Pensées», il examine la question des sacrifices que causent les passions, et découvre que «ce n'est pas la grandeur de la violence qu'on se fait en faisant des sacrifices à l'amour, qui prouve la grandeur de cet amour». Il en conclut que cette découverte, appliquée à toutes les passions, justifierait Corneille «du peu de combats que nous voyons dans l'âme de ses héros». Il déplore en effet qu'au théâtre on juge communément de la grandeur d'une passion d'après la grandeur des combats que lui coûtent les sacrifices qu'elle fait;⁷⁹ pour sa part, il n'est point dupe de cette perspective théâtrale, et il estime que Corneille a vu juste, comme il l'explique quelques jours plus tard à Pauline: «A propos de *Cinna*, j'ai été témoin de deux traits qui prouvent que Corneille a bien connu le cœur humain: j'ai vu deux personnes passionnées faire les plus grands sacrifices sans combats, tout naturellement, comme Auguste: *Soyons amis, Cinna*; au lieu que Voltaire et Racine n'intéressent que par des combats interminables».⁸⁰ Mais il ne dit point si, dans ses futures œuvres dramatiques, il sacrifiera pour sa part l'intérêt pathétique à la vérité morale.

D'autres soins ne lui permirent pas de développer le plan de classification et d'analyse des passions qu'il venait d'introduire dans la «Filosofia nova». Mais il n'y renonçait point pour cela: le 7 brumaire

⁷⁸ «Deuxième cahier des pensées», R. 5896, t. XXIV, fol. 53-53 verso, notes datées du 7 thermidor an XII [26 juillet 1804]; *Pensées*, II, 224-25.

⁷⁹ «Suite, Pensées», R. 5896, t. XVII, fol. 65-65 verso, notes datées du 12 thermidor an XII [31 juillet 1804]; *Pensées*, II, 51-52. Signalons que ce fascicule intitulé «Suite, Pensées», fol. 62-73 verso, est la suite immédiate du fascicule constitué par les fol. 50-63 verso de R. 5896, t. XIV, lequel est lui-même la suite immédiate du «Deuxième cahier des pensées», R. 5896, t. XXIV, fol. 43-54 verso, comme nous nous proposons de le montrer ailleurs.

⁸⁰ *Correspondance*, I, 234. La *Correspondance* date cette lettre de «Thermidor an XII»; la *Table alphabétique des noms cités* (Paris: Divan, 1937), I, 43, précise «18 thermidor», et publie, I, 85, un paragraphe inédit effectivement daté du 18 thermidor. Mais il ne s'agit que d'un post-scriptum, et la lettre elle-même a été écrite le 1^{er} thermidor [3 août], comme nous nous proposons de le montrer ailleurs.

an XIII (29 octobre 1804), il écrivait à Pauline que la science de l'homme la rendrait à soixante ans la femme la plus spirituelle de Paris, et qu'alors ils habiteraient la même maison et passeraient ainsi la soirée de leur vie agréablement, «faisant la liste des passions, vanité, ambition, haine, etc., etc., et des états de passions, espérance, jouissance, désespoir». ⁸¹ En attendant, il voit dans ce système un moyen infaillible de briller auprès des femmes. Le 8 germinal an XIII (29 mars 1805), il imagine d'adresser à la sensible Mélanie une dissertation sur les passions, à seule fin d'éclipser un rival dangereux: «Peut-être elle estime ce faquin-là parce qu'il a fait des tragédies et qu'il connaît le théâtre; lui faire un de ces jours une lettre de sept ou huit pages sur la connaissance des passions, où je montrerai la tête et le cœur, les passions et les états de passion». ⁸² Ecrivit-il jamais cette lettre qui devait le tirer du pair, et qui eût été, quinze ans d'avance, l'ébauche du livre de l'*Amour*? Toujours est-il que Mélanie, qui eût préféré des démonstrations moins théoriques, le laissa se morfondre encore pendant des mois.

Le 6 thermidor an XIII (25 juillet 1805), notre philosophe arrivait à Marseille pour s'y lancer dans l'épicerie, première étape d'une carrière qui devait le conduire à la fortune. Le contact avec les hommes, la pratique des affaires, l'expérience de la passion ne tardèrent pas à le mûrir, et à débarrasser son esprit du fatras qu'y avaient accumulé deux années et plus d'études assidues. Le 9 vendémiaire an XIV (1^{er} octobre 1805), il relut une partie du cahier de la «Filosofia nova» qu'il avait composé en messidor an XII; et il se jugea sans indulgence: «J'ai trouvé ce qu'il y avait de jeunet, peu profond, pas profond du tout même, ça n'est pas pensé», nota-t-il dans son *Journal*. Il osa même s'avouer que peut-être il avait du talent pour la poésie, mais qu'il n'avait point le génie philosophique. ⁸³ Il confia le lendemain à Pauline, avec la même franchise: «J'ai lu hier, par hasard, les cahiers que j'écrivais à Paris, en messidor an XII, sur la tête et le cœur, et la division des passions que je faisais à cette époque. J'ai trouvé ce principe vrai, mais tout le reste gisquet, orgueilleux, vide, peu réfléchi, ressemblant à un article de Geoffroy, surtout par la présomption de l'ignorance». ⁸⁴ Distinction entre la tête et le cœur, division des pas-

⁸¹ *Correspondance*, I, 291.

⁸² *Journal*, II, 120.

⁸³ *Journal*, II, 174.

⁸⁴ *Correspondance*, II, 44. Cette lettre est datée du 9 vendémiaire an XIV [1^{er} octobre 1805]; mais elle a vraisemblablement été écrite en plusieurs fois, et le fragment que nous en citons semble bien avoir été écrit un jour après la note du *Journal*.

sions: telles étaient en effet les deux idées vivaces et fécondes de la «Filosofia nova».

Cependant, après avoir été pendant près de dix mois l'épicier le plus idéologue de Marseille, Beyle reprenait le 24 mai 1806 le chemin de Grenoble et de Paris. Le 16 octobre, il partait pour l'Allemagne avec son cousin Martial Daru; le 29 il était adjoint provisoire aux commissaires des guerres; et le 13 novembre il s'installait à Brunswick. Il y resta jusqu'à la fin de 1808, revint alors pour quelque temps respirer l'air de Paris, puis repartit au printemps de 1809 pour l'Allemagne et l'Autriche. Pendant toutes ces campagnes, ses besognes administratives ne lui laissaient guère le loisir de philosopher. Mais au début de 1810 il put rentrer à Paris, où il s'organisa une vie agréable et indépendante de la méchanceté des hommes. Le 12 juin, il remit en chantier sa comédie de *Letellier*, abandonnée depuis 1806; et il se souvint à cette occasion de son ancienne étude des passions. Sans doute n'a-t-il pas oublié l'analyse qu'il en a tentée en messidor an XII dans la «Filosofia nova»; mais ce sont surtout ses premières ébauches de nivôse, de floréal et de fructidor an XI qui lui reviennent à l'esprit, notamment la distinction entre caractères naturels et caractères sociaux, et l'idée des combats entre liens et passions. «Il peut être utile, note-t-il dans son *Journal*, pour mettre de la clarté dans mes idées, de repenser après cinq ans d'oubli à mon ancien travail de 1805 sur les caractères naturels et sociaux et leurs oppositions avec les passions, avec le classement de ces oppositions en sujets tragiques et comiques».⁸⁵ Mais comme, dans l'intervalle, il a lu Cabanis, il se propose de tenir compte du physique aussi bien que du moral et il ajoute: «Combiner avec le tempérament». Il dresse ensuite la liste des liens, des passions et des habitudes: «Liens naturels (je prends pour la nature les sauvages d'Amérique cités par Malthus): le père, le mari, le fils, le frère, l'ami, le général, le juge (le roi ou gouverneur est ces deux réunis). *Passions*: l'amant, l'ami, l'ambitieux, l'avare, le vaniteux, l'orgueilleux, le joueur, le jaloux, l'envieux, le haïssant, le cupide (d'argent). *Habitudes*: le preneur de tabac, l'inconstant, le distractif, le prodigue ou dissipateur». Il répète enfin, en termes presque identiques, son principe de 1803: «Le combat des liens et des passions donne les

⁸⁵ *Journal*, III, 159. Relevons une légère erreur dans la chronologie de Beyle: c'est évidemment à ses ébauches de 1803 qu'il songe: les caractères naturels et sociaux disparaissent après le travail du 11 nivôse an XI, et les liens naturels et sociaux après celui du 30 fructidor an XI.

angoisses tragiques: ainsi le *Cid* est le combat du lien *fils* avec la passion *amour*; *Zaire*, du lien *femme* et du lien *tu ne seras pas incestueux* avec la passion *amour*; Pauline, du lien *femme* avec la passion *amour*.⁸⁶ Il semble donc bien qu'avec le temps Beyle ait oublié la plupart des notions successivement empruntées à Helvétius, à Vauvenargues, à Lancelin et à Hobbes, pour ne retenir que l'«idée mère» inspirée de Chateaubriand.

Quelques semaines plus tard, après avoir lu la *Nosographie philosophique* de Pinel, il reprend une fois de plus, le 11 juillet, son projet de répertoire des passions: «Faire un journal nosographique où j'inscrirai chaque soir, à l'article *Vanité*, les traits vaniteux observés, à l'article *Avarice* les traits d'avarice, enfin sous le titre de chaque passion, état de l'âme, etc., ce que j'aurai observé».⁸⁷ Réalisa-t-il enfin ce projet? le 30 juillet il note qu'il a travaillé de sept heures et demie à trois heures et demie, avec son ami Félix Faure, «à la classification des passions, états et habitudes de l'âme, moyens de passion».⁸⁸

Mais le 3 août Beyle apprend qu'il vient d'être nommé auditeur au Conseil d'Etat: pendant huit mois il ne songe plus qu'aux affaires, il digère les occupations et les jouissances de sa nouvelle fortune.⁸⁹ Son ambition est satisfaite; mais il manque encore à son bonheur d'achever la conquête de Mme Daru, pour laquelle il soupire en vain depuis longtemps; et le 3 avril 1811, pour peser ses chances de succès, il rédige une curieuse «Consultation» où il met toute sa connaissance du cœur humain.⁹⁰ Il examine minutieusement le tempérament et le caractère de la «duchesse», son éducation, sa religion, son aptitude à la passion, il suppote les combats qu'au moment de l'attaque les devoirs conjugaux livreraient en elle à l'amour. Qu'aurait pensé l'auteur du *Génie du christianisme* s'il avait pu soupçonner que sa pieuse apologétique inspirerait un jour des machinations aussi criminelles, et conduirait à cette gaillarde conclusion: «Nous ne croyons pas qu'on puisse attendre qu'elle se donne: elle sera emportée dans un moment

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 159-60.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 132. Cf. les projets analogues des 1^{er} et 15 ventôse an XI, et de prairial an XII. Noter toutefois que la documentation sera désormais fondée exclusivement sur l'observation personnelle.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

⁸⁹ Cf. *Théâtre*, III, 245.

⁹⁰ «Consultation en faveur de la duchesse de B. pour Banti», *Mélanges intimes et marginaria*, éd. H. Martineau (Paris: Divan, 1936), I, 58-83. La duchesse de B., c'est la comtesse Daru; et Banti, c'est Beyle lui-même.

de trouble, à la campagne, l'été, à huit heures du soir, deux heures après un bon dîner où elle aura beaucoup parlé.⁹¹

Cette prédiction ne s'était pas encore réalisée quand, le 13 août 1811, dans son «Renouveau d'idéologie», Beyle entreprenait avec son ami Crozet un nouveau recensement des passions: «Nous avons résolu d'ouvrir un compte à chaque *passion*, aux *états* dans lesquels cette passion fait passer l'âme, et enfin aux *habitudes de l'âme*. Il faut chercher surtout à nous garantir du vague. Chaque soir nous écrirons les traits d'avarice, d'amour, de dureté, que nous avons observés».⁹² Après quelques considérations sur la façon dont plusieurs passions peuvent concourir ou se neutraliser ou l'emporter tour à tour, et quelques remarques sur les formes différentes que prend une même passion dans les différents tempéraments, les deux compères établissent leur «Classification des états de l'âme». Conformément à leur plan, ils commencent par la liste des «passions simples»: ils distinguent d'abord les besoins physiques, faim, soif, sommeil, chaleur, coit, car «un homme n'est susceptible de passion qu'autant que ces besoins sont satisfaits»; puis ils énumèrent les passions proprement dites, ambition, amitié, amour, etc., en s'efforçant d'illustrer chacune d'entre elles d'un exemple littéraire. Après quoi, ils passent aux «habitudes de l'âme», dont ils dressent une interminable liste, depuis l'activité et l'apathie jusqu'à la vivacité et la vigilance. En troisième lieu, ils cataloguent les «états dans lesquels les passions font passer l'âme», depuis l'abattement et l'accablement jusqu'aux transports et à la volupté; et ils prennent soin d'expliquer en note: «En allant à Saint-Cloud, on passe sur un chemin pavé, sur de la terre glaise, sur un chemin de cailloutage, etc. Ainsi, la même passion fait passer par l'espérance, la crainte, l'envie, la jouissance, l'anxiété, le désespoir, etc., etc.»⁹³ Ils se proposaient ensuite de transcrire la «description des tempéraments» que Beyle avait déjà empruntée à Cabanis.⁹⁴ Enfin venait la liste des «qualités de l'âme», ardente, froide, forte, sensible, sèche, sympathisante, ou ferme.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁹² «Renouveau d'idéologie. Recueil de faits», R. 5896, t. VII, fol. 137-47, cahier daté du 13 août 1811, de la main d'un copiste, avec additions autographes; *Journal*, III, 409-18.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 409-17.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 417. Cette description se trouve dans R. 5896, t. XI, fol. 76-83; elle a été reprise presque littéralement dans *l'Histoire de la peinture en Italie*.

Le 15 août, Beyle amorçait de sa main la série des «comptes ouverts»; mais il ne dépassa pas l'ambition et l'amitié.⁹⁵ C'est tout juste si, le 22 août, il ajouta encore à la préface que «la seule bonne manière d'étudier la poésie, la musique, la peinture, la sculpture, etc., en un mot tous les arts» était de commencer par de nombreuses lectures de chefs-d'œuvre, et d'étudier ensuite «d'après une table analogue à la suivante l'expression de chaque passion, état de l'âme, etc., 1^o dans les imitations de la nature; 2^o pour la poésie dans l'histoire et dans la nature, pour les autres arts dans la nature seulement».⁹⁶ Ce magnifique projet, comme tous ceux qui l'avaient précédé, était voué à l'avortement: le 25 août, Beyle retenait sa place à la diligence de Milan; et le 29 il se mettait en route. Lorsqu'il rentra à Paris, trois mois plus tard, le 27 novembre 1811, il était trop absorbé par son *Histoire de la peinture en Italie* pour songer à remettre sur le métier sa classification des passions.

Vingt-six ans s'écoulent. Beyle fait en 1812 la campagne de Russie, en 1813 la campagne d'Allemagne, en 1814 la campagne de France. L'Empire s'effondre en 1814: et le voilà dépouillé de ses titres et de ses appontements. Alors, pendant sept ans, il mène en Italie une vie de dilettante et d'amoureux. Il publie les *Lettres écrites de Vienne, l'Histoire de la peinture en Italie, Rome, Naples et Florence en 1817*; il ébauche un *Napoléon* et quelques pamphlets romantiques; il poursuit avec Gina Pietragrua les amours les plus libertines, il transit et brûle de la passion la plus pure pour Métilde Dembowski. Rentré à Paris en 1821, il s'établit homme de lettres et homme d'esprit. Il publie *De l'amour, Racine et Shakespeare*, la *Vie de Rossini, Rome, Naples et Florence*, les *Promenades dans Rome*; il collabore au *Journal de Paris*, au *Mercure du XIX^e siècle*, au *Paris monthly review*, au *New monthly magazine*, au *London magazine*, à l'*Athenaeum*; il publie des nouvelles, *Vanina Vanini*, le *Coffre et le revenant*, le *Philtre*, il publie des romans, *Armane*, le *Rouge et le noir*; il se fait aimer de Clémentine Curial, d'Alberthe de Rubempré, de Giulia Rinieri de' Rocchi. La Restauration s'écroule en 1830: et le voilà consul de Louis-Philippe à Trieste, puis à Civita-Veccchia. Il bombarde son ministre de rapports politiques et de rapports commerciaux, il dépiste dans de vieilles archives de

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 418.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 413, addition autographe.

tragiques histoires de passion et de crime, il entreprend les *Souvenirs d'égotisme* et la *Vie de Henri Brulard*, il échafaude le roman de *Lucien Leuwen*. En 1836, il obtient de la faveur du ministre un long congé à Paris. Il se remet à fréquenter les théâtres et les salons, et il commence à la *Revue des deux-mondes* une série de nouvelles italiennes. Que de vicissitudes, que de passions, que de papier noirci!

C'est alors que, le 18 avril 1837, il remet en chantier, pour en faire un roman, une nouvelle qu'il avait ébauchée en 1829-1830 sous le titre de *Mina de Wanghel*.⁹⁷ Il y travaille pendant quelques semaines, mais la rédaction n'avance guère.⁹⁸ Aussi, le 18 mai, s'interrompt-il pour rechercher la philosophie et le plan de son roman;⁹⁹ et c'est, incroyable persévérance, à ses élucubrations de 1803 que M. de Stendhal a recours, à l'idée mère inspirée trente-quatre ans auparavant au jeune Henri Beyle par la lecture du *Génie du christianisme*. «Plan. Application de la règle de 1798», écrit-il en gros caractères en tête d'un feuillet de son manuscrit; et plus bas: «Recherche du plan ou avant tout de la passion».¹⁰⁰ Il entreprend en conséquence de déterminer les liens et les passions qu'il peut opposer dans l'âme de son héroïne: «Quel lien a Mina? elle est fille, elle est un peu croyante, elle a naturellement l'honneur de femme, elle redoute d'avance un maître dans son mari. Quelle passion a-t-elle? 1^o jouir du spectacle de la société française et de la France. Si je disais que par testament son père l'a obligée à se marier dans deux ans ou déshériter? Mais il n'est point satisfait: «Cela est bien baroque», observe-t-il, «mais il faut une passion». Et tout à coup l'idée jaillit: «Je crois que je lui ai trouvé une passion. Elle a horreur d'être épousée pour son argent, donc 1^o elle pense à faire de fausses confidences. Je suis pauvre . . . Elle fait la confidence

⁹⁷ Cf. «Tamira Wanghen», R. 5896, t. XII, fol. 19 verso-16 verso, à l'envers, et 5-7. Ces 7 pages ont été écrites le 18 avril et dictées le 19, ainsi que l'indiquent une note au fol. 16 verso et une note au fol. 7. Cf. «Mina de Wanghel», *Romans et nouvelles*, éd. H. Martineau (Paris: Divan, 1928), I, 147-209.

⁹⁸ Cf. R. 5896, t. VII, fol. 40-55, et R. 291, fol. 162-344. De nombreuses dates autographes permettent de suivre l'élaboration du roman entre le 18 avril et le 17 mai 1837. A cette date, l'auteur en est à la p. 124, et observe, R. 291, fol. 321 [124] verso: «Made only 6 pages le 17. First soleil, je promène sur le boulevard, and this morning aconit».

⁹⁹ Cf. R. 291, fol. 321 [124], note autographe: «Le 19 mai est employé à chercher Philo même le Plan et à le trouver».

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 328, autographe. L'étude ainsi intitulée occupe dans R. 291 les fol. 328-34, et est jusqu'ici restée inédite. Faut-il rappeler que Beyle n'a pas le don de la chronologie? Rien ne permet de supposer qu'en 1798 il eût déjà conçu une règle qui n'apparaît dans ses cahiers qu'en 1803.

du fils de Duncan (dans *Macbeth*). J'ai tous les vices. Sa cousine Strombeck a été épousée pour son argent et indignement trahie». M. de Stendhal échafaude ensuite l'«intrigue résultant de la passion dominante», il se demande quel caractère doit avoir le héros «pour développer le plus possible celui de Mina», et enfin, à 6 heures du soir, il commence à rédiger son plan.¹⁰¹

Mais il s'interrompt bientôt pour jeter sur le papier quelques «Réflexions sur le plan du 18 mai», où il compare Mina à Julien Sorel, et essaie de se rappeler les «femmes remarquables» qu'il a trouvées dans les romans, et les combats intimes qui les rendent pathétiques: «1^o Clémentine de *Grandison* (la crainte de l'enfer combat l'amour); 2^o Rebecca ou Jennie Deans de Walter Scott (l'amour de sœur et la peur de l'enfer fortifiés par l'honneur et la crainte du mépris). Quels combats quand Mina qui aime le jeune homme lui confie tous ses vices et qu'elle désire et ne désire pas qu'il la quitte. Cas absurde. Est-il beau? 3^o Clarisse Harlowe (l'amour et l'enfer fortifiés par l'honneur); 4^o Julie d'Etanges; 5^o Manon Lescaut; 6^o Sophia Western du grand Fielding, trop simple. (Cervantès n'a point de femme. Défaut de ce grand homme). 7^o la princesse de Clèves».¹⁰²

Cela ne lui suffit point encore; et le voilà qui, pour être sûr de ne rien oublier, entreprend un tableau des liens et des passions, qu'il intitule: «Idée de 1798, ou 1796 plutôt».¹⁰³ Il commence par poser un principe et une définition: «Il n'y a de dramatique que par le combat d'une habitude de l'âme et d'une passion. J'appelle lien les habitudes de l'âme, c'est-à-dire les habitudes d'aimer ou haïr». Puis il dresse méthodiquement la liste des liens: d'abord au masculin: «1 fils, 2 père, 3 époux ou amant, 4 citoyen passionné (comme dans Brutus), 5 honneur ou galant homme ou sa variété la vanité ou désir de paraître (dans la monarchie de Louis XIV vers 1680), 6 croyant (peur de l'enfer), 7 prêtre (ce lien est plus envers le monde et le *qu'en dira-t-on*), 8 frère, lien faible, seulement pour mémoire»; et ensuite au féminin: «1 bis fille, 2 bis mère, Mérope, 3 bis femme, amante, 4 bis citoyenne, 5 bis le *qu'en dira-t-on*, 6 bis dévote, 7 bis religieuse, vestale, 8 bis sœur».

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 328, 329 verso, 330, 331, 331 verso.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, fol. 329.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, fol. 332. Remarquons qu'ici Beyle renchérit encore sur l'indication donnée au fol. 328: à l'en croire, ce serait en 1796—c'est-à-dire à treize ans—qu'il aurait eu cette idée!

Dans une autre colonne il dresse la liste des passions: «A Amour et sa variété la jalousie, B haine et sa variété envie, C amour de la vie ou de la conservation, quand cette passion engendre la lâcheté elle produit un effet singulier nommé le *Rire*». Il ajoute que «plusieurs liens peuvent passer à l'état de passion, par exemple citoyen; le *père* se bat avec le *citoyen* dans Brutus; il énumère quelques habitudes du caractère, gourmandise, amour de parler ou bavardage, etc.; et il cite un «moyen devenu habitude de chercher le bonheur, l'hypocrisie ou Tartuffe». Il ne lui reste plus alors qu'à étudier toutes les combinaisons possibles des huit liens avec les trois passions, ce qu'il entreprend incontinent: «Chapitre 1^{er}. Le lien fils peut être combiné avec et par conséquent combattu par: 1^o l'amour, un homme doit sacrifier ou son amour [ou son père], le Cid, le lien père est aidé par l'honneur; 2^o la haine, un fils hait, il faut qu'il sacrifie sa haine ou son père; 3^o l'amour de la vie, un fils doit sacrifier sa vie ou son père (sujet difficile à exprimer en peinture)». ¹⁰⁴

Ce soir-là, M. de Stendhal n'en écrivit pas davantage; mais, avant de souffler sa chandelle, il se traça son programme du lendemain: «Le 19 mai faire les chapitres . . . , prendre les exemples dans l'art et dans la vie réelle». Effectivement, le lendemain, il intitulait un nouveau feuillet: «1798. Liste des combats». Il commence par se rappeler sa définition du caractère, formulée dès 1813: «Le caractère d'un homme ou d'une femme est sa manière habituelle d'aller à la chasse du bonheur». Puis, dans la colonne de gauche, sous la forme la plus lapidaire, il catalogue en huit chapitres les vingt-quatre combats possibles des huit liens avec les trois passions: «*Chapitre 1*, fils combat l'amour, fils combat la haine, fils combat l'amour de la vie. *Chapitre 2*, père combat l'amour, père combat la haine, père combat l'amour de la vie. *Chapitre 3*, époux ou amant combat l'amour, époux ou amant combat la haine, époux ou amant combat l'amour de la vie», et ainsi de suite. Dans la colonne de droite, en face de chaque chapitre, il note quelques «exemples dans l'art ou dans la réalité». ¹⁰⁵

Restait à appliquer cet admirable système. Sans perdre un instant, M. de Stendhal se met à relire son ébauche, pour la confronter avec son nouveau plan; le lendemain 20 mai, il poursuit sa lecture, jette dans les

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 332.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 333-34. Le fol. 334 est intitulé: «1798. Suite des combats».

marges quelques observations, calcule combien il lui faudra de pages manuscrites pour remplir deux volumes imprimés de 450 pages chacun.¹⁰⁶ Le 21 mai, il esquisse le plan de la suite de l'intrigue; mais il s'arrête à mi-chemin: il songe déjà à entreprendre un voyage en Bretagne pourachever de documenter ses *Mémoires d'un touriste*, et il ajourne aux loisirs des étapes l'achèvement de son plan et la rédaction de ses chapitres sur les combats des liens et des passions.¹⁰⁷

Quelques jours plus tard, il prend en compagnie de Mérimée la route de l'Auvergne. Il est le 28 mai à la Charité-sur-Loire; puis, par Bourges et Tours, il gagne Nantes, où il arrive le 2 juin. Il a emporté avec lui son manuscrit de *Mina*, qu'il relit et corrige du 4 au 8 à ses moments perdus; mais le 9 il part pour Vannes; et il ne rentre à Paris qu'au début de juillet, après avoir visité la Bretagne et la Normandie.¹⁰⁸ Dès lors, la rédaction et la publication des *Mémoires d'un touriste* l'occupent pendant plusieurs mois; il fait de mars à juillet 1838 un voyage dans le midi de la France; il entreprend à son retour de donner à la *Revue des deux-mondes* une série de nouvelles italiennes; et il a le 3 septembre 1838 la première idée de la *Chartreuse de Parme*, qu'il ne commence à rédiger que deux mois plus tard, en rentrant d'un nouveau voyage en Bretagne et en Normandie. Alors, en sept semaines d'un travail acharné, du 4 novembre au 26 décembre, il compose les six énormes cahiers dont l'impression se poursuit du début de février à la fin de mars 1839. Entre temps il publie l'*Abbesse de Castro*, et il ébauche pour la *Revue des deux-mondes* l'histoire de la sœur Scolastica. Au milieu de tant d'entreprises diverses, *Mina Wanhgen* fut oubliée.

Cependant, au verso du faux-titre de la *Chartreuse*, M. de Stendhal avait annoncé un nouveau roman, *Amiel*, dont apparemment il n'avait pas encore écrit une seule page. Le 13 avril 1839, il se met enfin à l'ouvrage.¹⁰⁹ Comme de juste, il commence par dresser un

¹⁰⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, fol. 177 verso, 205, 296, notes autographes du 19 mai; et fol. 177 verso, 203 verso, 206, 208, 321 verso, notes autographes du 20 mai.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. «Le Rose et le vert», *Romans et nouvelles*, I, 138-44.

¹⁰⁸ Sur ce voyage, cf. *Mémoires d'un touriste*, éd. L. Royer (Paris: Champion, 1932), Avant-propos, I, llv.

¹⁰⁹ Ce fut une rencontre fortuite qui le décida: cf. R. 291, fol. 441 verso: «Je comptais me délasser de la *Chartr.* avec le *Curieux de province*, comédie. Mais j'ai vu ce soir 13 avril Amiel de la station près de la Bastille à la rue St. Denis qu'elle a prise. Faire avoir beaucoup d'esprit à Amiel ou à un autre personnage vaniteux pour accrocher la sympathie du Français».

catalogue méthodique des combats intimes de l'âme, qu'il intitule cette fois: «Combat des liens des passions d'habitude avec l'instinct et les passions accidentielles à propos de . . .». Il y reprend fidèlement ses idées du 18 et du 19 mai 1837: «L'instinct ou l'amour de la vie forme, comme il est naturel, la plus ancienne des habitudes. Un homme est fils, frère, père, époux. Ces quatre liens se battent d'abord avec l'instinct ou amour de la vie, c'est-à-dire un homme fait le sacrifice de sa vie à son père, son frère, son fils, sa femme, ou bien un homme sacrifie à l'amour de la vie son père, son frère, son fils (comme Aristodème de Monti), sa femme». ¹¹⁰ Le 9 mai, il cherche les ressorts de l'intrigue; le 16 il arrête le caractère des personnages; et sans doute commence-t-il sans tarder sa rédaction, puisque le 28 il observe: «A chaque page je vois s'élever le brouillard qui couvre les suivantes». Mais hélas, son congé touche à sa fin: il doit reprendre le 24 juin 1839 le chemin de Civita-Veccchia, où il arrive le 10 août. C'est le 1^{er} octobre seulement qu'il rouvre son manuscrit d'*Amiel*; ce jour-là il se borne à relire sa première ébauche; le lendemain il la transcrit en la corrigent «sur grand papier à un baïoc la feuille». Dès lors, il est lancé: pendant une semaine il écrit. Mais l'arrivée de Mérimée, un séjour à Rome, un voyage à Naples le forcent à s'interrompre. Le 19 novembre il se remet à la besogne, et jusqu'au 3 décembre il travaille d'arrache-pied. Après un nouvel intermède, il reprend ses ébauches le 1^{er} janvier 1840, et pendant quelques semaines il dicte fiévreusement: le 23 janvier, il a 310 pages dictées, et il trouve enfin «la vraie fable du roman». ¹¹¹

Le lendemain 24 janvier il remet sur le métier son étude du 13 avril 1839. Il en répète le titre: «Combat des liens ou passions d'habitude 1^o avec l'instinct, 2^o avec les passions accidentielles». Il en reproduit littéralement le paragraphe relatif aux combats des liens avec l'instinct ou amour de la vie, et conclut: «Beaucoup de ces combats de passion sont ingrats pour les arts, ne donnent pas la sensation du beau pour 1^o la terreur, 2^o le rire». Il passe ensuite aux «Combats de l'amour de la vie avec les passions, et des liens ou passions habituelles avec les

¹¹⁰ *Vies de Haydn, de Mozart et de Métastase* (Paris: Levavasseur, 1831), exemplaire Primoli, note autographe du 13 avril 1839. Cf. Primoli, *Une promenade dans Rome sur les traces de Stendhal* (Paris: Champion, 1923), pp. 72-73; et *Mélanges intimes et marginaux*, II, 54. Nous proposons de lire «13 avril 1839» au lieu de «13 août 1839», lecture de MM. Primoli et Martineau. Cf. ci-dessous, n. 112.

¹¹¹ Il serait trop long de citer ici les textes sur lesquels nous fondons ce bref résumé: nous nous proposons de reprendre ailleurs en détail l'histoire de l'élaboration de *Lamiel*.

passions». Il commence par dresser la liste des passions: «Un homme a: de l'ambition, de l'amour, de la haine, de la cupidité (envie d'acquérir), de l'avarice, de l'envie, de la crainte de ne pas conserver ses avantages». Puis il cite des exemples: «Ainsi l'Empereur fait emprisonner Walenstejn, Philippe II fait emprisonner D. Juan d'Autriche, fait périr son fils D. Carlos, Pierre le Grand fait périr un fils indigne». Mais il s'interrompt bientôt: «De peur de tomber dans l'obscurité, donnons le détail de ces combats 1^o dans le cœur d'un homme, 2^o dans le cœur d'une femme». Ainsi fait-il, le plus méthodiquement du monde: «Un homme éprouve le combat 1^o de l'amour de la vie avec N° 1 l'ambition, N° 2 l'amour, la haine, la cupidité, l'avarice, l'envie, la crainte de ne pas conserver ses avantages». Il énumère ensuite des exemples de chaque cas, soigneusement numérotés: «N° 1. Tous les ambitieux héroïques exposent leur vie: Manlius précipité du Capitole, Scipion allant mourir à Minturnes, Napoléon au 18 brumaire. Bon pour le comique: un ambitieux maire de Paris un jour d'émeute. N° 2 L'amour et la vie. Richelieu passant sur une échelle à travers la rue; un amoureux bien . . . allant chez sa maîtresse mariée à un capitaine grand duelliste, D[omini]que montant à l'échelle à Mouchy. Bon pour le comique, faire tout ça avec peur: un homme croit sa vanité engagée à faire l'amour avec une femme, mais il a une peur du diable, qui tue et anéantit tout le plaisir de l'amour. Caractère *neuf*, non peint, ce me semble». Et déjà il entrevoit l'application de cette idée à l'intrigue de *Lamel*: «Par exemple Sansfin veut faire l'amour à Lamiel devenue duchesse de Miossens, elle pour se moquer de lui lui prépare des dangers en avertissant son mari fort jaloux . . . Lamiel blasée ayant Sansfin pour jouir de sa peur».¹¹² M. de Stendhal ne poussa pas plus loin, semble-t-il, cette chasse aux idées; et c'est dommage: on y aperçoit son esprit s'élançant du problème abstrait à l'exemple concret et dramatique.

En fait, l'auteur de *Racine et Shakspeare* venait de concevoir un projet aussi ambitieux qu'en apparence inattendu: composer un *Cours de littérature*, mais un cours d'un genre nouveau, fondé sur l'analyse des passions et l'étude des combats qu'elles soulèvent dans l'âme humaine. Il en écrivit, le 25 janvier, le premier paragraphe du

¹¹² R. 5896, t. XV, fol. 52-56, notes autographes, inédites, datées au fol. 52: «13 avril 39, 24 Jr 40»; et au fol. 56: «24 Jr 40». Le rappel «13 avril 39», dont la lecture n'est pas douteuse, permet de rectifier la lecture de la note autographe des *Vies de Haydn, de Mozart et de Mélanaste* citée ci-dessus, n. 110.

premier chapitre : « Les ouvrages littéraires, poèmes, romans, comédies, tragédies, odes, peignent des passions ou combats de passions, ou bien font rire. Le style doit être clair, net, brillant, rapide, etc. Plus tard nous nous occuperons du style. Parlons d'abord des passions que Homère, le Tasse, Shakespeare, etc., ont peintes. Qui ne connaît la jalouse ou Othello, l'insolence militaire ou Achille, le désespoir d'amour ou Roméo et Juliette, la jalouse prise de façon à exciter le rire ou le *Cocu imaginaire*, les ridicules de l'amour ou les *Inamorati* de Goldoni, etc. »¹¹³ M. de Stendhal allait-il donc, au bout de trente-sept ans, réaliser enfin avec toute son expérience le projet que le jeune Beyle avait conçu en 1803 en lisant le *Génie du christianisme*? hélas, une fois de plus la persévérance lui manqua: il n'écrivit jamais la poétique dont il avait passé toute sa vie à ressasser les éléments.

Il n'acheva pas non plus *Lamiel*. Pendant quelque temps, à Rome ou à Civita-Veccchia, il continua ses dictées et ses corrections; mais vers le début de mars il tomba amoureux d'une mystérieuse Earline, et bientôt il ne songea plus qu'à combiner de savantes manœuvres. De retour à Civita-Veccchia, il poursuivit encore quelque temps son travail de révision; mais le cœur n'y était plus, et l'ébauche de *Lamiel* alla rejoindre, au fond de quelque tiroir, l'ébauche de *Mina Wanghen*.

Ainsi donc, par une malédiction singulière, l'idée de la classification et des combats des caractères et des passions, que Beyle a empruntée les 9 et 11 nivôse an XI à Chateaubriand, et dont il a fait dès lors l'idée mère de sa doctrine dramatique, semble frappée de stérilité. Apprenti poète, il la reprend le 15 floréal, le 27 floréal, le 30 fructidor an XI, le 11 messidor an XII. Fonctionnaire de l'Empire, il se la rappelle le 12 juin 1810, il y travaille le 30 juillet, il la remet sur le métier le 13 août 1811. Romancier, il l'invoque encore le 18 mai 1837 pour arrêter le plan de *Mina Wanghen*, le 13 avril 1839 pour échafauder *Amiel*, le 24 janvier 1840 pour continuer *Lamiel*, le 25 janvier pour entreprendre un *Cours de littérature*. C'est peine perdue: il n'achève ni le traité où il doit l'exposer, ni les romans où il doit l'appliquer. Mais, entre 1811 et 1837, Stendhal a écrit *Armance*, le *Rouge et le noir*, *Lucien Leuwen*, sans compter quelques nouvelles; entre 1837 et 1839, outre *Mina Wanghen* et plusieurs nouvelles italiennes, il a écrit la

¹¹³ «Cours de littérature», R. 5896, t. XV, fol. 51, note autographe, inédite, datée du 25 janvier 1840.

Chartreuse de Parme. Est-il vraisemblable qu'en composant ces romans et ces nouvelles il ait oublié la méthode qui l'occupait en 1811 et qu'il tentait encore si obstinément de mettre en œuvre en 1837, en 1839 et en 1840?

En fait, ce sont les combats intérieurs d'une âme partagée entre ses passions et ses liens, à l'instar d'*Atala* ou d'*Amélie* ou de *Bianca*, qui donnent à la plupart des héroïnes stendhaliennes leur physionomie pathétique. Que l'on relise *Armance*, ou le *Rouge*, ou *Leuwen*, ou la *Chartreuse*, on retrouvera partout sous des formes diverses le même conflit essentiel. *Armance* est déchirée par les combats de son amour avec sa fierté, sa délicatesse, son devoir envers elle-même et envers Octave. Mme de Rénal est bientôt partagée entre son amour pour Julien, sa crainte de l'enfer, son amour maternel: et c'est l'amour qui l'emporte sur les liens. Puis, après de départ de Julien, sous l'influence de son confesseur, elle comprend le crime qu'elle a commis envers son mari, envers ses enfants et envers Dieu: et elle immole son amour à ses devoirs. Enfin, après l'attentat et la condamnation, quand elle va voir Julien dans sa prison, la passion reprend chez elle le dessus: et elle sacrifie de nouveau et sans combat tous les liens. Quant à Mathilde de la Mole, son trait dominant est l'orgueil; après de longs combats, son amour pour Julien l'emporte momentanément sur l'orgueil et l'honneur féminin; mais l'orgueil et le remords reprennent plusieurs fois le dessus avant que la jalouse et l'amour ne triomphent définitivement et ne rompent sans combat tous les liens sociaux. La timide Mme de Chasteller est constamment tiraillée entre son amour pour *Leuwen* et ses sentiments exagérés de délicatesse et de retenue féminines, qu'elle fortifie encore par un voeu. La sèche Mme Grandet elle-même, d'abord uniquement poussée par l'ambition, finit par s'éprendre de *Leuwen*, et éprouve toutes les angoisses de l'orgueil et de la vanité combattus et vaincus par l'amour. Clélia Conti, cette ardente dévote, est d'abord partagée entre son amour pour Fabrice et ses devoirs envers son père, gouverneur de la Tour Farnèse: elle commence par sacrifier le lien à la passion en aidant à l'évasion de Fabrice; puis, pleine du remords d'avoir failli causer la mort de son père, elle sacrifie la passion au lien filial, qu'elle renforce d'ailleurs d'un lien céleste en faisant vœu de ne jamais plus revoir Fabrice; mais lorsqu'elle le croit mourant, elle sacrifie ces deux liens en courant à son secours et son honneur féminin en se donnant à lui. Elle obéit ensuite à son devoir filial en acceptant

d'épouser le marquis Crescenzi; mais elle ne se reconnaît aucun lien conjugal, et elle saura fort bien concilier par une ingénieuse casuistique sa passion et son voeu en ne recevant son amant que dans l'obscurité. Elle est de nouveau déchirée entre sa passion et ses liens quand Fabrice lui réclame leur fils Sandrino; et lorsque Sandrino succombe, le remords l'emporte chez elle sur l'amour, et elle se laisse mourir.

C'est par des combats analogues que Stendhal prête aussi parfois à ses héros un caractère pathétique. Mais ces âmes affranchies ne subissent d'ordinaire aucun lien, et ne se reconnaissent de devoir qu'envers elles-mêmes. Un exemple suffira: Julien Sorel. Son trait dominant est d'abord l'ambition, qui emploie l'hypocrisie comme le moyen le mieux adapté aux mœurs du temps, et n'est réfrénée par aucun lien naturel, social ou céleste. A cette passion fondamentale s'en ajoute bientôt une autre, l'amour, d'abord pour Mme de Rénal, puis pour Mlle de la Mole; et les seuls combats qu'elle déclanche sont entre la timidité et le devoir de vaincre. L'ambition et l'amour triomphent de concert lorsque Julien, sur le point d'épouser Mathilde enfin domptée, se voit en même temps doté d'un titre, d'une fortune et d'un brevet qui lui permettront en quelques années de parvenir à commander en chef; et c'est alors qu'apparaît en lui le premier lien, le sentiment de son devoir envers le fils qui va lui naître. Mais lorsque la dénonciation de Mme de Rénal fait soudain crouler cet édifice, une nouvelle passion, la vengeance, l'emporte en un instant sur l'ambition et sur l'amour. Puis, persuadé qu'il a tué celle qui l'a trahi, Julien se sent l'âme vidée de toute passion et n'aspire plus qu'à la mort. Mais la première visite qu'il reçoit de Mme de Rénal dans sa prison lui rend tout son amour pour elle: c'est à ce premier amour triomphant sans partage qu'il consacre les dernières semaines de sa vie; et c'est à Mme de Rénal qu'il délègue son devoir envers son fils.

Ces combats intimes de l'âme, parfois Stendhal les indique explicitement, parfois il se contente de les suggérer; mais on ne saurait douter qu'il en ait voulu faire le ressort essentiel de ses personnages.¹¹⁴ Il suffit, pour s'en convaincre, de se reporter à l'exemplaire interfolié de la *Chartreuse* sur lequel l'auteur lui-même a griffonné tant

¹¹⁴ Nous ne signalons ici que les combats les plus frappants des personnages les plus connus. Nous remettions à plus tard l'analyse détaillée des diverses oppositions de passions ou de liens et de passions que l'on pourrait distinguer chez la plupart des personnages de tous les romans et de toutes les nouvelles.

d'additions et de corrections. Le 25 juillet 1840, à peine rentré de Florence où il a revu Giulia, Dominique, encore tout attendri, rouvre le second volume de son roman; le 26, il déplore que le récit tourne court vers la fin; le 27, il décide de développer convenablement les scènes que Dupont lui a fait sabrer en mars 1839; le 28 il se met à la besogne, et l'une de ses plus notables additions analyse les affres qu'éprouve Clélia quand il lui faut choisir entre son père et Fabrice: «Alors commença dans l'âme de cette jeune fille un combat déchirant: à ce père peu digne d'estime et qu'elle n'aimait point, elle devait sacrifier un mari qu'elle adorait. Il fallait sacrifier le bonheur de sa vie à une *opinion* de la société. . . . Clélia jugeait plus facile de mourir que de sacrifier Fabrice. Mais mourir n'était-ce pas plonger son père dans un exil éternel? Par bonheur, après trois jours d'affreux combats. . . .¹¹⁵ Les «scènes doucement attendrissantes» que l'auteur se proposait d'introduire dans les derniers chapitres de la seconde édition, c'est ainsi qu'il les aurait réalisées, en développant à loisir chez Clélia et chez Fabrice les «combats intérieurs de l'âme» qu'il avait à peine suggérés dans la première édition, par la faute de M. Dupont.

Il semble donc bien que, dans ses œuvres romanesques, M. de Stendhal ait délibérément combiné des caractères d'où devaient naître des oppositions entre liens et passions. Mais ce n'est point dans *le Cid* ou dans *Polyeucte* que Beyle a découvert la valeur pathétique du conflit entre l'amour et le devoir filial ou la religion. C'est dans le *Génie du christianisme* qu'il a trouvé la première analyse des combats intimes de l'âme; c'est dans *Atala* et dans *René* qu'il en a vu les premiers exemples. Certes, il a ensuite demandé aux philosophes, aux mémorialistes, aux romanciers, aux poètes même d'autres lumières sur le cœur humain; mais il n'en est pas moins resté fidèle à l'«idée mère» que le *Génie* lui avait inspirée. Elle est vraiment une des «cinq ou six idées principales» qu'il a passé sa vie à considérer. Si étrange que cela paraisse, l'apôtre d'Helvétius et de Tracy a donc été, sans le savoir et pendant près de quarante ans, le disciple de l'homme qu'il exécrerait le plus, le disciple de Chateaubriand.

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¹¹⁵ *Chartreuse de Parme* (Paris: Dupont, 1839), exemplaire Chaper, II, addition autographe face aux pp. 374-75. Cf. la *Transcription des corrections, notes et addenda procurée par H. Debrayé* (Paris: Champion, 1921), p. 102.

ON THE STRUCTURE OF TOM SAWYER

WALTER BLAIR

I

SINCE, as several critics have suggested, *The adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876) attacked earlier juvenile literature in something roughly like the way *Joseph Andrews* attacked *Pamela*,¹ a note on the structure of the novel may well start (though it should not, I think, terminate) with a consideration of Clemens' book in its literary contexts. Such a consideration, by indicating the nature of the writings attacked and the way Mark Twain and other American humorists assaulted them, may emphasize certain architectural peculiarities in the volume and suggest more clearly than critics have done,² a unifying narrative thread.

Notable in earlier juvenile fictional works had been their characters, their preachments, and their plots. The children portrayed had been, for the most part, characterized with extraordinary simplicity: they had been good or bad, and that had been an end of it.³ Horatio Alger's street boy heroes in the sixties, to be sure, had been more in-

¹ Critics who have noted the departure of the novel from conventional literature about children include Carl Van Doren, *The American novel* (New York, 1921), p. 168; Stuart P. Sherman, "Mark Twain," in *The Cambridge history of American literature* (New York, 1921), III, 15; and Percy H. Boynton, in his "Introduction" to the Harper's Modern Classics ed., pp. xx-xxii.

² A typical comment is that of F. L. Pattee who, in his *American literature since 1870* (New York, 1915), pp. 59-60, says of Twain's writings (including *Tom Sawyer*): "They are not artistic books. The author had little skill in construction. He excelled in brilliant dashes, not in long continued effort." Compare Carl Van Doren, p. 169, speaking of *Tom Sawyer*: "To a delicate taste, indeed, the book seems occasionally overloaded with matters brought in at moments when no necessity in the narrative calls for them. . . . Nor can the murder about which the story is built up be said to dominate it very thoroughly. The story moves forward in something the same manner as did the plays of the seventies, with entrances and exits not always motivated." More recently A. H. Quinn, in *American fiction, an historical and critical survey* (New York, 1936), p. 256, has asserted that Clemens' "definition of the humorous story as one that 'may be spun out at great length and wander about as much as it pleases, and arrive nowhere in particular' is illuminating in its explanation of his strength and weakness as a writer of fiction. Like Bret Harte he is best in his episodes, and it is through them that he built up the characters . . . by which he will be remembered," including *Tom Sawyer*.

³ Exceptions, in some ways, to these generalizations, had been some characters in novels by Louisa M. Alcott, Elijah J. Kellogg, and J. T. Trowbridge. The exceptions, however, do not, I think, invalidate the generalizations.

clined towards naughtiness than flawless Little Eva or even beautifully trained Little Rollo had been.⁴ But Alger's Ragged Dick, though he used profanity, patronized the Old Bowery Theatre, smoked, and played jokes on country folk, was "above doing anything mean or dishonorable . . . or imposing upon younger boys. . . . His nature was noble and had saved him from all mean faults."⁵ And as a rule, as a critic of the Alger books has recently remarked:

Our hero was . . . a good boy, honest, abstemious (in fact sometimes unduly disposed to preach to drinkers and smokers), prudent, well-mannered (except perhaps for preaching), and frugal. . . . Nor did any subtleties of character-drawing prevent one from determining who were the good characters and who were the bad ones. They were labeled plainly.⁶

The bad children—as lacking in complexity as the good—had been distinguished, perhaps, more by their proclivities toward sin than by their accomplishments. Their crimes had ranged all the way from simply being lazy or playing truant to the most horrible outrages within their infantile powers—lying, stealing, battering the helpless and the weak, swearing, smoking, and even drinking. In short, with few exceptions, a bad child had been as totally depraved (in intention) as the non-elect of Calvinistic theology.⁷

The authors of juvenile tales, employing these angelic or villainous children, had provided sermon-like commentaries and had fashioned lesson-teaching plots. Constantly these writers had "extolled the precocious child, deprecated wholesome pleasure, and delighted in didactic sentimentality,"⁸ patting good children on the back, and scold-

⁴ Little Rollo, created by Jacob Abbott in 1834 to survive at least twenty-four volumes of boyhood, was surrounded by wise instructors who quickly reasoned him out of impulses toward sin. The same careful nurture kept upright his brothers and sisters in four series of books. Goodrich's Peter Parley narratives, in much the same tradition, were roughly contemporaneous.

⁵ *Ragged Dick* (Philadelphia, [n.d.]), pp. 15–18. During the course of the book, however, Dick reformed, and his evil habits were replaced with good ones. It is notable that Alger indicated his departure from the tradition of the completely virtuous hero when he said, "I have mentioned Dick's faults and defects because I want it understood, to begin with, that I don't consider him a model boy."

⁶ Frederick Lewis Allen, "Horatio Alger, Jr.," *Saturday review of literature*, XVIII (September 17, 1938), 4.

⁷ Some exceptions included, in addition to some Alger boys, the heroes of Oliver Optic's *In school and out* (1863) and of Francis Forrester's *Dick Duncan* (1864), who, after sinning divertingly for several chapters, were allowed to reform. See Richard Allen Foster, *The school in American literature* (Baltimore, 1930), pp. 134–35.

⁸ E. K. Maxfield, "'Goody-goody' literature and Mrs. Stowe," *American speech*, 14 (February, 1920), 201.

ing bad children sternly. Even when he had skipped the sermons, the reader of a typical story had been able to get its point by noticing that the author's dénouement observed the strictest poetic justice. In stories following what seemingly was the earliest pattern—the best known instance of which is the tale of Little Eva—the pallid virtuous child had died at the age proverbially prescribed for the Good, but had promptly gone to Heaven. The Alger boys, somewhat better adapted to the Gilded Age, had survived childhood to become successful business men. But the bad boy who had played truant "and was not really sorry for what he had done . . . went from one bad thing to another, and grew up to be a very wicked man, and at last committed a murder"; while naughty Thomas, who loafed all day or played with his kite, had a depressing adulthood:

Without a shilling in his purse,
Or cot to call his own,
Poor Thomas went from bad to worse,
And hardened as a stone.⁹

During the years before *Tom Sawyer* appeared, such good-bad-child tales, with their preachments and predetermined conclusions, had suggested incongruities between fiction and life useful to many American humorists. Beginning in the forties comic writers had spontaneously beguiled readers with amoral portraits of unregenerate boys. Johnson J. Hooper's Simon Suggs had cheated his father at cards in 1845,¹⁰ and in the fifties adolescent Sut Lovengood and young Ike Partington had perpetrated sundry deviltries. Ike, perhaps the most notorious of these juvenile delinquents, in the first volume in which he had appeared, had told lies, scratched letters on a newly japanned tray, broken countless windows, stolen oranges and cakes and doughnuts, hanged a cat, and imitated the hero of *The black avenger, or the pirates of the Spanish Main*.¹¹ In the seventies Max Adeler's Cooley

⁹ The story of the truant, which appeared in a reader, and the poem about the idle boy, from *Youth's casket* (1857), are reprinted in E. Douglas Branch, *The sentimental years 1836-1860* (New York, 1934), pp. 312-13. For details concerning the preachments in the McGuffey readers, see Mark Sullivan, *Our times* (New York, 1927), II, 23-45.

¹⁰ He had so far observed the amenities as to grow up to be a rascal, but since his creator obviously delighted in his rascality, Hooper was considered a most immoral person by contemporaries.

¹¹ B. P. Shillaber, *Life and sayings of Mrs. Partington* (New York, 1854). Ike, for all his resemblance to the later Tom Sawyer, was a rather sketchy character because, as a rule, he committed his crimes in the final lines of a narrative chiefly devoted to his aunt.

boy was creating commotions in church, and kindred spirits in the writings of other humorists were behaving, in sketches, as Tom was to behave in a book. Doubtless the incongruity between these youths and those in contemporary books not only augmented their comic appeal but also molded the form of stories about them.

At least as early as the sixties, various authors had begun an even more direct onslaught upon juvenile fictional characters. Henry Ward Beecher, for example, had said in an essay written for a New York paper:

The real lives of boys are yet to be written. The lives of pious and good boys, which enrich the catalogues of great publishing societies, resemble a real boy's life about as much as a chicken picked and larded, upon a spit, and ready for delicious eating, resembles a free fowl in the fields. With some honorable exceptions, they are impossible boys, with incredible goodness. Their piety is monstrous. A man's experience stuffed into a little boy is simply monstrous. . . . Boys have a period of mischief as much as they have measles or chicken-pox.¹²

In 1869, Thomas Bailey Aldrich had launched his somewhat mild full-length portrait of Tom Bailey with a defiant passage calling attention to the difference between the Model Boy and the human youngster: I call my story the story of a bad boy, partly to distinguish myself from those faultless young gentlemen who generally figure in narratives of this kind, and partly because I really was *not* a cherub. I may truthfully say I was an amiable, impulsive lad, blessed with fine digestive powers, and no hypocrite. I didn't want to be an angel . . . and I didn't send my little pocket-money to the natives of the Feejee Islands, but spent it royally on peppermint drops and tiffy candy. In short, I was a real human boy, such as you may meet anywhere in New England, and no more like an impossible boy in a story-book than a sound orange is like one that has been sucked dry.¹³

The story carrying this foreword could swell the circulation of *Our young folks* in 1869, and, in book form, could quickly run through eleven editions.¹⁴

By the middle of the seventies, the Moral Boy had become a dependable butt for humorists. During the year 1873, when *Tom Sawyer* was incubating, James M. Bailey was surmising that the nine-year-old Concord boy whose ability to repeat the multiplication table back-

¹² *Eyes and ears* (Boston, 1862), pp. 73-74.

¹³ *The story of a bad boy* (Boston, 1869), pp. 8-9.

¹⁴ Feris Greenslet, *The life of Thomas Bailey Aldrich* (Boston, 1908), p. 92.

wards had been recorded in a news item was the same hateful paragon who had lived next door to Bailey in his childhood—a youth who "always went to bed at eight o'clock . . . brushed his hair back of his ears, and carried a store handkerchief. . . . He was the model boy, the boy our parents used to point to, and speak of . . . while unfitting us for sitting on anything harder than a poultice."¹⁵ The year before *Tom Sawyer* was issued, a Detroit humorist published sketches, "The good boy" and "The bad boy," satirizing some of the excesses of Sunday school fiction.¹⁶ In the year Clemens' novel appeared, Robert Burdette humorously referred to "well-known 'good boys' who wash their faces every morning, keep their clothes clean, wear white collars, and don't say bad words."¹⁷

None of these attacks, it is probable, can be thought of as a direct inspiration of Mark Twain's book about boys. They are useful only to show a common conception of the humor of childhood and the nature of children of which he could take advantage. As a matter of fact, Twain himself had been rather early in the field with "The story of the good little boy who did not prosper" (1867) and "The story of the bad little boy who didn't come to grief" (1870)—both burlesques.¹⁸ Jim, the hero of the former sketch, stole jam without the usual consequences: "all at once a terrible feeling didn't come over him. . . . He ate that jam and said it was bully." He stole apples and survived, purloined the teacher's penknife and shifted the blame to "the moral boy, the good little boy of the village, who always obeyed his mother, and never told an untruth, and was fond of his lessons, and in-

¹⁵ *Life in Danbury* (Boston, 1873), pp. 72-73. A section on pp. 275-83 called "The Danbury youth" burlesques the old rewards-and-punishment fiction by remarking that "boys who put stones in snow balls grow up to be bad men, and finally die a miserable death in a New York custom house," and foreshadows passages in *Tom Sawyer* by recounting how a boy "whose imagination had become diseased by too much close devotion to dime novels started off yesterday to seek fame as a slayer of bears and Indians. He . . . was gone nearly two hours."

¹⁶ M. Quad [C. B. Lewis], *Quad's odds* (Detroit, 1875), pp. 379-87. The Bad Boy, like Tom Sawyer after him, had "an ambition which nothing could check. He wanted to be a bold pirate and sail on the raging main. . . ." "Jeems," on pp. 354-55 of the same volume, tolerantly told of the difficulty a mother had getting her son started to Sunday school.

¹⁷ *The rise and fall of the mustache and other Hawk-Eyedems* (Burlington, 1877), p. 165.

¹⁸ The former first appeared in *The celebrated jumping frog of Calaveras County and other sketches* (New York, 1867), the latter in *The Galaxy* for May, 1870. Both were frequently reprinted before their inclusion in *Sketches new and old* (Hartford, 1875). Both therefore appeared early enough to merit consideration as germinal for Clemens' famous story of boyhood.

fatuated with Sunday-school." Jim was delighted when the paragon was whipped, because he "hated moral boys. Jim said he was 'down on them milksops.'" Thus "everything turned out differently with him from the way it does to the bad Jameses in the books." In manhood, Jim "got wealthy by all manner of cheating and rascality; and now he is the infernalest wickedest scoundrel in his native village, and is universally respected, and belongs to the legislature."

Jacob Blivens in the 1870 sketch behaved so abnormally—refusing to play hookey, to lie, and to play on Sunday—that other children decided he was "afflicted," though the real trouble was simply that he "read all the Sunday-school books. . . . This was the secret of it." Again there was an attack upon the endings of stories about children. In them, the models "always had a good time, and the bad boys had the broken legs; in his case there was a screw loose somewhere, and it all happened the other way."

II

One who turns to *Tom Sawyer* with the conventional literature and the humorous attacks on that literature by various writers including Twain in mind may see some important achievements of Clemens' novel. These were suggested by a contemporary critic who said:

This literary wag has performed some services which entitle him to the gratitude of his generation. He has run the traditional Sunday-school boy through his literary mangle and turned him out washed and ironed into a proper state of collapse. That whining, canting, early-dying, anaemic creature was held up to mischievous lads as worthy of imitation. He poured his religious hypocrisy over every honest pleasure a boy had. He whined his lachrymous warnings on every playground. He vexed their lives. So when Mark grew old enough, he went gunning for him, and lo, wherever his soul may be, the skin of the strumous young pietist is now neatly tacked up to view on the Sunday-school door of to-day as a warning.¹⁹

That the attack thus suggested may have been responsible in part for the organization of the narrative becomes clear if the story is restated in the way it would have been handled in the literature attacked. The opening chapter of Clemens' novel reveals a character who, in terms of moralizing juvenile literature, has the indubitable

¹⁹ Quoted in Will M. Clemens, *Mark Twain his life and work* (Chicago, 1894), p. 126. The writer is identified as "a well-known literary critic," and the passage is drawn from a review. I have been unable, however, to find the original review.

earmarks of a Bad Boy. As the story opens, Tom is stealing. Caught in the act, he avoids punishment by deceiving his aunt. He departs to play hookey, returns to stand slothfully by while a slave boy does his chores for him, then enters the house to deceive his aunt again. His trickery exposed by his half-brother Sid, he dashes out of the door shouting threats of revenge. A few minutes later, he is exchanging vainglorious boasts with a stranger whom he hates simply because the stranger is cleanly and neatly dressed. The action of the chapter concludes with Tom pounding the strange boy into submission (for no righteous reason), then chasing him home. "At last," says the author, "the enemy's mother appeared, and called Tom a bad, vicious vulgar child. . . ." If earlier moral writers had had a chance at Tom, they would have been much more eloquent, for within a few pages he has committed many of the enormities against which they had battled for years.

But as the story continues, Bad Boy Tom continues to sin (as these authors would have put it) in a fashion almost unprecedented in the fiction of the time. Up to the last page of chapter x, he piles up enough horrible deeds to spur the average Sunday school author to write pages of admonitions. His actions are of a sort to show that he is—in the language of such an author—thievish, guileful, untruthful, vengeful, vainglorious, selfish, frivolous, self-pitying, dirty, lazy, irreverent, superstitious and cowardly.

What a chance for sermonizing! But Clemens makes nothing of his opportunity: he indicates not the least concern about his hero's mendacity. In fact, his preaching (such as it is) is of a perverse sort. Instead of clucking to show his horror, he writes of Tom's sins with a gusto which earlier authors had reserved for the deeds of Good Boys, and on occasion (as when he tells about the whitewashing trick), he actually commends the youth for his chicanery. A ragged ruffian named Huckleberry Finn who smokes and swears is set up as an ideal figure because

. . . he did not have to go to school or to church, or call any being master or obey anybody; he could go fishing or swimming when and where he chose, and stay as long as it suited him; nobody forbade him to fight; he could sit up as late as he pleased; . . . he never had to wash, nor put on clean clothes; he could swear wonderfully. In a word, everything that goes to make life precious, that boy had. So thought every harassed, hampered, respectable boy in St. Petersburg [chap. vi].

On the other hand, the sort of spiteful disdain which had been used to chasten Bad Boys in other books is actually employed here to introduce an indubitable Good Boy. To church on Sunday, says Clemens, . . . last of all came the Model Boy, Willie Mufferson, taking as heedful care of his mother as if she were cut glass. He always brought his mother to church, and was the pride of all the matrons. The boys hated him, he was so good. And besides, he had been "thrown up to them" so much. His white handkerchief was hanging out of his pocket behind, as usual on Sundays—accidentally. Tom had no handkerchief, and he looked upon boys who had, as snobs.²⁰

The ending of the book departs as determinedly from the patterns of juvenile fiction. It staggers the imagination to guess the sort of punishment which would have been deigned fitting for such a monster as Tom by fictionists who had felt hanging in adulthood was an appropriate result of youthful truancy. From their standpoint, the author of *Tom Sawyer* must have outraged poetic justice to the point of being hideously immoral. Here were Tom and his companions, who had run away, played truant, and smoked to boot, actually lionized because they returned from Jackson's Island. Here was Tom cheered to the echo because he saved an unjustly accused man, compared with George Washington by Judge Thatcher because he took Becky's punishment, lionized because he saved the girl from the cave.²¹ More shocking, here was even the unregenerate Huck dramatically saving the life of the Widow Douglas. And to top it all, these boys were allowed at the end to accumulate a fortune of the size exclusively awarded to only the best of the Alger heroes.

Thus the characterization, the perverse preaching, the unconventional ending of the book, which gave the volume in its day a comic appeal now all but irrecoverable, also, it is possible, did much to mold the form of the narrative. The simplest explanation of the arrange-

²⁰ Chap. v. See also chap. i, in which the author says, approvingly, of Tom: "He was not the Model Boy of the village. He knew the model boy very well though—and loathed him."

²¹ A feminine critic so strongly conditioned by preachy literature that she managed to find a moral, of all places, in *Huckleberry Finn*, in 1887 called attention to outstanding examples of Tom's nobility. "Only a noble and tender heart," she said admiringly, "could have taken the blame upon itself when Becky accidentally tore the teacher's book, and received 'without an outcry the most merciless flogging that even Mr. Dobbins had ever administered,' and 'when he stepped forward to go to his punishment the surprise, the gratitude, the adoration that shone upon him out of poor Becky's eyes seemed pay enough for a hundred floggings.' The scene in the cave, of the rough boy folding in his arms the lost and weeping little girl, is a beautiful one"—Sarah K. Bolton, *Famous American authors* (New York, 1887), p. 369.

ment of happenings in Clemens' book is that it represented a fictional working-out of the author's antipathy to the conventional plot structure of juvenile tales. Here, in other words, is a repetition of the plot so broadly developed in "The story of a bad little boy who didn't come to grief"—a more serious handling of a reversed moralizing narrative.

III

One effect of this method of telling a story was, of course, to give youthful readers exactly the sort of a series of happenings likely to please them.²² Here was the story of a character who, in their opinion, was a real boy, a character who, furthermore, time after time, when he was idolized for his achievements, fulfilled the sort of daydreams which had been their own.²³

A second effect was perhaps even more important. In attacking in other than a burlesque fashion fictional representations of boys who were unreal, Clemens was faced with the problem of depicting, through characterization and plot, boys who were real.²⁴ What a real boy was suggested by the very terms of the attack: he was not simply good or bad but a mixture of virtue and mischievousness. And he could play pranks at the same time he was developing qualities which would make him a normal adult.

This concept allowed elements of incongruity which an author might develop humorously. In this view, youngsters of Tom's age were diverting combinations of ignorance and wisdom, deviltry and morality, childhood and adulthood. These incongruities, of course, were useful to Clemens again and again.²⁵ But the incongruities of boy

²² "My story," said the author in his preface, "is intended mainly for boys and girls." He made changes in his manuscript with his childlike audience in view. (See *Mark Twain's letters* (New York, 1917), I, 272, 273.) However, he was not always sure that the book was not for adults.

²³ Booth Tarkington's shrewd suggestion is that Clemens gave his youthful character "adventures that all boys, in their longing dreams, make believe they have. He made extravagant, dramatic things happen to them; they were pitted against murderers, won their ladyloves, and discovered hidden gold. He made them so real that their very reality is the stimulus of the adult reader's laughter, but he embedded this reality in the romance of a plot as true to the conventional mid-nineteenth century romantic novel-writing as it was to the day-dreams the boy Mark Twain himself had been"—Introduction to Cyril Clemens, *My Cousin Mark Twain* (Emmaus, Pa., 1939).

²⁴ Clemens at least wanted to do this. "Part of my plan," he said in his preface, "has been to try to pleasantly remind adults of how they thought and talked, and what queer enterprises they sometimes engaged in."

²⁵ The famous whitewashing scene, to cite one example, played upon some of these discrepancies: Tom, vainly trying to escape his chore, was the mischievous and ignorant boy. When, later, he got other boys, less canny than he, to do the job for him, he displayed the

nature not only had humorous possibilities; they also had potentialities—far beyond those in good-bad-boy books—for plot structures closely linked with developing characters. As a “real” boy grew up, the common sense theory implied, unlike the consistent actions of the static character in goody-goody books, the nature of his actions would change. Not only would they change from year to year but also from month to month. Less and less, he would behave like an irresponsible and ignorant savage; more and more he would act like a responsible and intelligent adult.

If *Tom Sawyer* is regarded as a working out in fictional form of this notion of a boy's maturing, the book will reveal, I believe, a structure on the whole quite well adapted to its purpose. My suggestion, in other words, is that Clemens' divergence from the older patterns of juvenile fiction and his concept of the normal history of boyhood led him to a way of characterizing and a patterning of action which showed a boy developing toward manhood.

That this was the unifying theme of the story will be indicated, perhaps, by a consideration of the units of narrative, the lines of action, in the novel. There are four of these—the story of Tom and Becky, the story of Tom and Muff Potter, the Jackson's Island episode, and the series of happenings (which might be called the Injun Joe story) leading to the discovery of the treasure. Each one of these is initiated by a characteristic and typically boyish action. The love story begins with Tom's childishly fickle desertion of his fiancée, Amy Lawrence; the Potter narrative with the superstitious trip to the graveyard; the Jackson's Island episode with the adolescent revolt of the boy against Aunt Polly, and Tom's youthful ambition to be a pirate; the Injun Joe story with the juvenile search for buried treasure. Three of these narrative strands, however, are climaxed by a characteristic and mature sort of action, a sort of action, moreover, directly opposed to the initial action. Tom chivalrously takes Becky's punishment and faithfully helps her in the cave; he defies boyish superstition and courageously testifies for Muff Potter; he forgets a childish antipathy and shows mature concern for his aunt's uneasiness

sort of wisdom—perhaps even of morality—becoming to an adult. “He,” said his approving historian, “had discovered a great law of human action, without knowing it—namely, that in order to make a man or boy covet a thing, it is only necessary to make the thing difficult to attain.”

about him. The Injun Joe story, though it is the least useful of the four so far as showing Tom's maturing is concerned, by showing Huck conquering fear to rescue the widow, has value as a repetition—with variations—of the motif of the book.

That these actions are regarded by the older folk of St. Petersburg as evidences of mature virtue is suggested in each instance by their reactions. Every subplot in the book eventuates in an expression of adult approval. Sometimes this is private, like Aunt Polly's discovery that Tom has come from the island to tell her of his safety, or like Judge Thatcher's enthusiastic comments upon Tom's chivalry at school. Sometimes it is public, like the adulation lavished on the hero after the trial and after the rescue of Becky, or like the widow's party honoring Huck Finn.

The book contains various episodes extraneous to these lines of action—episodes whose only value in the scheme is variation in the display of the incongruities of boy nature from which the actions arise, but it is notable how much of the novel is concerned with these four threads.²⁴ Only four of the thirty-five chapters are not in some way concerned with the development of at least one of them.²⁵ Hence a large share of the book is concerned with actions which show the kind of development suggested.

More important is the fact that, if the novel is regarded as one narrative including the alternately treated lines of action and the episodes as well, as the story progresses, wholly boylike actions become more infrequent while adult actions increase. No such simple and melodramatic a device as a complete reformation is employed: late in the book, Tom is still capable of treasure hunts and fantasies about robber gangs. (Clemens remarked that he "didn't take the chap beyond boyhood.")²⁶ But actions which are credible late in the story—actions such as Tom's taking Becky's punishment (chap. xx) or testifying for Potter (chap. xxiii)—would, I think, seem improbable early in the book.²⁷ One of a few slips Clemens makes strengthens

²⁴ Chaps. I (which is expository), v, viii, and xxi. Chap. xxii, however, contains only one sentence concerning the Becky Thatcher story. This narrative occurs in twelve chapters, the Injun Joe story twelve, the Jackson's Island episode seven, and the Muff Potter subplot five. Eight chapters contain elements of two lines of action.

²⁵ *Letters*, I, 258.

²⁶ Two kinds of probability are, I believe, theoretically involved here—one that which represents the intelligent person's general conception of the way a boy matures, the other that which derives from a study of the character of Tom as it is displayed in the book. In this instance, I think, the two kinds of probability coincide.

this point: in chapter xxiv, Tom tells Huck that when he is rich he is "going to buy a new drum, and sure 'nough sword, and a red necktie and a bull pup, and get married." Mr. Edgar Lee Masters finds this jarring. "Can any boy of that age," he asks, "be imagined talking in this way . . . ?"²⁹ It is jarring in chapter xxiv, to be sure, but at any point in the first five chapters of the book, say, it would be highly appropriate.³⁰

There is perhaps, then, reason for believing that the theme, the main action, and the character portrayal in the novel are one—the developing of Tom's character in a series of crucial situations. Studying the progress of the novel with this in mind, the reader will see, I believe, that though the earlier chapters emphasize Tom's mischievousness, and though a Sunday school fictionist would therefore call him a Bad Boy, there are potentialities in these chapters for his later behavior.³¹ To put the matter negatively, his motives are never vicious; to put it positively, he has a good heart. In his aunt's words, he

. . . warn't *bad*, so to say—only mischeevous. Only just giddy, and harum-scarum, you know. He warn't any more responsible than a colt. *He* never meant any harm, and he was the best-hearted boy that ever was . . . [chap. xv].

An appeal to his sympathy, he himself indicates in chapter ii, is more efficacious than physical punishment or scolding. "She talks awful," he says of Aunt Polly, "but talk don't hurt—anyways it don't if she don't cry." Inevitably then, when at the end of chapter x, his aunt weeps over him, "this was worse than a thousand whippings." And a chapter later, tender-hearted Tom is ministering to poor Muff Potter as he languishes in jail.

Significant, too, is Tom's acceptance, in times of stress in the early chapters, of the adult code of the particularly godly folk of idyllic

²⁹ *Mark Twain a portrait* (New York, 1938), p. 125. Tom's age is not specified in the book, except by his actions. The fact that the action of the book requires only a few months seems irrelevant, since fictional rather than actual time is involved.

³⁰ It is not incongruous, for example, with the list of Tom's treasures in chap. ii.

³¹ If Clemens' book was to be on a level above that of travesty, such potentialities had to be indicated. A rule of literary art which Twain himself formulated in "Fenimore Cooper's literary offenses," in *Literary essays* (New York, 1899), p. 81, was "that the characters in a tale shall be so clearly defined that the reader can tell beforehand what each will do in a given emergency." Thus his very divergence from the simple motivation of earlier fictional works necessitated more complex characterization than they contained.

St. Petersburg.³² His feeling that it would be pleasant to die disappears when he remembers that he does not have "a clean Sunday-school record" (chap. viii), and the howling dog's prophecy of his death brings regret that he has been "playing hookey and doing everything a feller's told *not* to do." "But if I ever get off this time," he promises, "I lay I'll just *waller* in Sunday-schools!" (chap. x). Surrounded by night on Jackson's Island, he inwardly says his prayers, and a little later, his conscience gnaws as he recalls his sins (chap. xiii). He wants to be a soldier, or a plainsman, or a pirate chiefly in order that he may stroll into the drowsy little St. Petersburg church some Sunday morning and bask in the respect of the village (chap. viii). And his impelling desire for a place of honor in the community is a key to his initiating three of the four lines of action,³³ hence the plot strands are closely linked with his character.

Beginning with the final pages of chapter x, these potentialities for something more mature than inconsiderate childhood begin to develop. Tom is touched by his aunt's appeal to his sympathy; his conscience hurts because of his silence about Potter's innocence; he suffers pangs because he realizes he has sinned in running away; he worries about his aunt's concern for his safety, and so on. And well in the second half of the book, in a series of chapters—xx, xxiii, xxix, xxxii—come those crucial situations in which he acts more like a grownup than like an irresponsible boy.

IV

There are some indications that Clemens was aware of the pattern I have suggested. He was aware, undoubtedly, of the divergence from the older fictional models patently burlesqued in his "Bad boy" and "Good boy" travesties. Did he perceive, however, that deliberate divergence from older patterns had led him to create a new structure of his own, nearer to the history of boyhood as he and others conceived it? It is impossible to be sure, but some facts may have a bearing on the problem.

³² Kind-hearted Muff Potter, the grave-robbing Dr. Robinson, and the Temperance Tavern keeper who bootleggs are the nearest approach to native sin. Injun Joe and his vague companion from somewhere "up the river" are not of the community. The chief hints of vice Tom picks up anywhere are in the novels he reads.

³³ The Becky Thatcher story, the exception, is, as has been suggested, also a natural expression of Tom's character.

In Clemens' "Conclusion" to *Tom Sawyer* (the italics are his) he wrote: "So endeth this chronicle. It being strictly a history of a *boy*, it must stop here; the story could not go much further without becoming the history of a *man*." When in 1875 he wrote Howells asking him to read the manuscript, Mark Twain asked him particularly to "see if you don't really decide that I am right in closing with him as a boy."³⁴ And writing to Howells, shortly after the critic had read the manuscript, the humorist said he had decided to discard or not to write what would have been chapter xxxvi, and to add nothing in its place. "Something told me," he said, "that the book was done when I got to that point"—presumably, from the context, the present concluding chapter (xxxv) of the book.³⁵

The concluding passage in this chapter tells how Huck Finn, tired of civilization, sneaked away from the widow and started to live again a life free from adult restraints. In chapter vi, it may be recalled, this sort of life had been, in Tom's opinion, most enviable: "everything that goes to make life precious, that boy had." So Tom had thought when all adult curbs had been hateful to him, when grown folk had seemed to be natural enemies, and their ways unnatural ways. But now Tom, bent on dragging Huck back to that civilization, tells the runaway that everybody lives cleanly and according to schedule. "And besides," he urges, "if you'll try this sort of thing just awhile longer you'll come to like it." Craftily, when Huck's chance remark helps Tom "see his opportunity," Tom dangles the bait of the robber gang. But though in chapter xiii Huck in rags was eligible for piratehood and even as late as chapter xxxiii his savagery has not been mentioned as a bar to his joining the robbers, now, to lure the boy back to the Widow's, Tom insists that Huck the Red-handed will have to live with the good woman and be "respectable" if he is to be allowed to join the gang. Something has happened to Tom. He is talking more like an adult than like an unsocial child. He has, it appears, gone over to the side of the enemy.

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³⁴ *Letters*, I, 259.

³⁵ Clemens wrote: "As to that last chapter, I think of just leaving it off and adding nothing in its place. Something told me the book was done when I got to that point—and so the temptation to put Huck's life into detail, instead of generalizing it in a paragraph was resisted" (*ibid.*, I, 267).

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

BIBLIOGRAPHIES OF TWELVE VICTORIAN AUTHORS: A SUPPLEMENT

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The following items are intended as a supplement to the review of *Bibliographies of twelve Victorian authors* compiled by T. G. Ehrsam, R. H. Deily, and R. M. Smith (New York, 1936), which appeared in *Modern philology*, XXXIV (1937), 389. See also *Modern philology*, XXXV (1938), 417.

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BOOK REVIEWS

L'Épopée française, origine et élaboration. By MAURICE WILMOTTE. Paris: Boivin, 1939. Pp. ix+217.

This book will be eagerly read by all serious students of epic origins. In particular the first chapter, "Un siècle de philologie française," will interest them as a succinct but illuminating survey of epic criticism in France, dating from Fauriel in the eighteenth century and reaching down to Bédier and to Wilmette's own contributions on medieval Latin influences.

Appearing so soon after the lamented death of France's great scholar, it also serves as an evaluation of Bédier's position in the learned world, an appreciation that is now admirably supplemented on the personal side by Ferdinand Lot's *Joseph Bédier (1864-1938)*, just off the press of Paillard (E. Droz, publisher).

An admirable feature of the treatise, which deserves a critical review, is its form. Wilmette notes at once the defect of the older interpretation of the epic by Paris and Rajna in its neglect of Latin tradition, on which he thinks the Franks built their epic structure, thus making composition in the vernacular possible. On the other hand, he discerns with like clarity Bédier's prejudice against the obvious Germanic strain in the *chansons de geste* and the failure of both sides to deal, systematically, with the matter of literary technique: "toute la portion de critique littéraire est sacrifiée à des considérations d'histoire et de philologie."

All of this serves as an introduction to the author's own views on the "constituents elements" of the French epic and his examination of them in the earliest texts. He thinks the constant feature in epic growth was the background of Latin culture, specifically the *Aeneid*, the influence of which was unbroken down to and beyond 1100. Granting the force of Bédier's argument in behalf of monastic legend as the touchstone of epic creation (see the *Girart de Roussillon*), he pertinently asks where the jongleurs acquired the art which they wielded. His answer is, from a previously current Latin epic, the vestiges of which he sees in the poem on Louis the Pious by Ermoldus Nigelius, the famous Hague Fragment, and of course the *Waltharius* with its theme and technique already so similar to those in the *Roland*. There is nothing very novel about the parallels (mostly stylistic) he then presents from these works. Taken as a whole, they hardly prove his case. But they re-open the question of influence, and when considered together with Victorinus' testimony that the *poetae vulgares* addressed the people "non metrica ratione sed numerica scansione ad judicium aurium examinata," they show that the popular epic

was probably breaking away from the Latin school tradition upon which, after all, it depended.

The recent articles by E. R. Curtius, "Zur Literarästhetik des Mittelalters" (see *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, LVIII [1938], 129-232) lend weight to Wilmotte's theory in that the poetic *topoi* surviving from antiquity are there traced into the Middle Ages, and the formula "bravery and wisdom," characteristic already of the *Iliad*, is shown to be reflected in *Roland*, 1724-25:

Kar vassalages par sens nen est folie:
Mielz vaut mesure que ne fait estoltie.

In short, both of these scholars have opened a new and promising field for students of the medieval French epic.¹ In this regard, Wilmotte has long been a pioneer.

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lateinische Dichtung in England vom Ausgang des Frühhumanismus bis zum Regierungsantritt Elisabeths: Untersuchung zur nationalen und religiösen Grundlegung des englischen Humanismus. Von WOLFGANG MANN. Halle (Saale): Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1939. Pp. 207.

The subtitle of this work on Anglo-Latin poetry in the first half of the sixteenth century indicates the interest of the author and his method of dealing with his subject. He is careful to point out that such men as More, Haddon, Chaloner, and Parkhurst were statesmen by profession and poets only by avocation. As humanists it was incumbent upon them to show their skill in Latin verse; as English humanists it was inevitable that the poems they wrote would be concerned with religious and political ideas rather than with love and beauty. Even Leland, who was distinctly more of a man of letters in his own conception than were the others, is shown by Dr. Mann to have moved in a circle of courtiers, diplomats, and clergymen. It is the ideas of these men about such questions as the nature of the ruler and his relation to his people, the place of England in international politics, and the reformation of the church that are presented to us here in detailed analysis rather than a discussion of neo-Latin poetry in its relation to literary history.

More than half the book is devoted to the Latin poems of More and Leland. Dr. Mann shows conclusively that the ideas expressed in More's epigrams, published in 1518, are those which dominated his actions throughout his life and brought him to his death. Despite More's acknowledged indebtedness to the Greek Anthology there is a remarkable unity between his life and his poetry, which makes his epigrams a revealing expression of his

¹ The whole question should be reconsidered in the light of Professor Th. Frings' address to the Amsterdam Academy, "Europäische Heldenepik," *Neophilologus*, XXII (1938), 1-29.

personality. Leland, who belonged to the next generation, is a less striking character, but from the literary point of view a more interesting one. His poems were more numerous and more varied than More's, as was also his command of Latin meters. Unlike More, he appears to have been influenced by the Italian neo-Latin poets as well as by the classics. Dr. Mann points out his importance as a patriotic poet, and shows that both because of his official position and because of natural inclination he became an effective propagandist for the Tudor dynasty. His patriotism also led him to praise Chaucer as equal to the best foreign poets and to issue a volume of poems on the death of Wyatt. What is not indicated is his great importance as the founder of a school of historical poetry which flourished in the second half of the century both in Latin and English verse. This defect is characteristic of the book as a whole. The author has not concerned himself with anything that happened after the accession of Elizabeth. Since, however, he does not offer us literary history, but a detailed study of individual writers, the fault is a minor one.

In his discussion of Chaloner and Haddon Dr. Mann is not so successful. He spends too much time on Haddon's translations at the expense of the original poems, which seem to me of better quality than Dr. Mann will admit. Certainly a man who could write of England during the upheavals of Edward and Mary as "Anglia terribili fulmine tacta dei" had some gift for poetry. Furthermore, I cannot agree with the ascription to Haddon of the two poems described as "incerto autore" in the first edition. The fact that this phrase was omitted in the edition published after the author's death cannot be taken to indicate their genuineness. All the poems in the second edition were shuffled into new arrangements, in a manner unfortunately too common at the time, and the printer would hardly have concerned himself one way or another about preserving the words. In dealing with Chaloner Dr. Mann appears to have had the misfortune to overlook the author's principal poetical work, *De republica Anglorum instauranda decem libri*, whose title he quotes in a footnote. The volume contains not only the long title-poem, which is of exactly the sort to have interested Dr. Mann, but also a number of shorter poems on various topics at the end. What he does tell us about Chaloner's *In laudem Henrici octavi* is well said and makes us regret the lack of a commentary on the longer and more important poem. Since Chaloner had been a public servant under four English monarchs, his views on national and international political principles are of unusual interest.

Altogether this book is a useful addition to the study of humanism in England. Though too long and often repetitive in making its points, it contains valuable material. The books dealt with are not easy to obtain outside of England, and Dr. Mann is generous with his quotations.

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Sapientia Solomonis. Acted before the Queen by the boys of Westminster School January 17, 1565/6. Edited, from B. M. Add. MS. 20061, with introduction, notes, and collation with the original version of the play by Sixt Birck, printed in 1547. By ELIZABETH ROGERS PAYNE. ("Yale studies in English," Vol. LXXXIX.) New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1938. Pp. xvi+167.

A manuscript in the British Museum (Add. 20061) contains a Latin play performed by the boys of Westminster School before Queen Elizabeth and the Princess Cecilia of Sweden on the seventeenth of January, 1565/6. This play, adapted from one of the same title written by the German humanist Sixt Birck (Xystus Betuleius) and published at Basel in 1547, is the *Sapientia Solomonis*. Its publication in a scholarly edition by Elizabeth Rogers Payne makes available material significant to several fields of inquiry in the Renaissance. To those interested in literary currents it is important for at least four reasons. First, it gives further evidence of the currency during the sixteenth century of medieval literary material; here we find Solomon the poet, maker of proverbs, and lawgiver, and Marcolph the fool, who had met with such wide popularity throughout the Middle Ages. Second, it adds to our knowledge of the literary relations between England and Germany. Third, it is significant in the study of humanism: it calls attention to a notable German scholar of the New Learning; as a school drama it sheds light on humanistic theories of education; and in its representation of an ideal king governing through wisdom and knowledge, it reflects humanistic theories of government. And fourth, of interest to the student of the drama as well as to the student of humanism, is the material which the *Sapientia Solomonis* presents for the study of the vogue of the Christian Terence and of the sixteenth-century use of Plautine and Terentian techniques and materials. The historian of the drama may also find significant the blending of classical conventions with figures and situations common to the interludes and moralities.

But Mrs. Payne does far more than merely present a document important in many fields of interest. Her review of the scholarship on the play; her treatment of the manuscript, containing not only new evidence connecting it with the performance at Westminster but also a discussion of problems still to be solved; her account of Birck, his life and the genesis of his work; and her speculations on how the play got to Westminster—all these are particularly valuable. Here too is evidence which adds to our knowledge both of the Revels Office and its operations and of performances before the Queen; and the expense account which Mrs. Payne prints from the Westminster Muniments (No. 54000) shows the elaborate preparations made for scenery and costuming, indeed for the whole staging of the play. And finally, if this new edition were important for no other reason, it would still be of significance

in demonstrating the way in which a study of sources can illuminate or establish parts of a literary text. In the words of Birck, "*In his est exemplorum copia.*"

Certain shortcomings, however, detract somewhat from the value of Mrs. Payne's contribution. Thus, although her translation is usually idiomatic, it has many rough and unconvincing spots; and although its lack of flavor reflects the stiff, uncolloquial nature of the original, the translator more than once fails to achieve the *mot juste* (for example, she often chooses a word of Latin origin when there is a more expressive Anglo-Saxon synonym). The translation, she says, "has no literary merit and . . . strives only to be clear"; one wishes that her aim had been higher. One also wishes that in addition to her incidental observations she had included a discussion of the language of Birck and his Westminster adapter and that she had given more bibliographical information: not only more detailed descriptions of both the manuscript and the edition of 1547, but also a formal list of works pertinent to the study of the play. But by far the most disappointing aspect of the edition is Mrs. Payne's failure to reproduce her texts exactly. Her transcription of the play bill, which she attempts to reproduce exactly, reveals a few slight errors in punctuation and capitalization and in the expansion of contractions. Without an examination of the British Museum manuscript, little more can be said about the transcript of it than that the modernization of the punctuation and the standardization of the use of capital letters (neither of which is wholly consistent) make the edition less valuable than it might have been. The reproduction of Birck's text, furthermore, is far from satisfactory. A reconstruction of it from the notes, which the preface says is possible, is confusing because the system of cross-references fails to make clear at the proper place the omission of material used in another part of the Westminster version. And in view of the fact that Mrs. Payne gives information only about the location of several copies of Birck's play and not about the textual relations among them, it is impossible to tell whether the differences between her transcript and the copy of Birck in the Newberry Library, Chicago, are errors (careless transcriptions or misprints) or variants among issues. Of such a nature are the following (to be found in the textual notes for the scene listed): p. 150, I, ii, gloss: for "Rex solus" Newberry reads "Rex Solomon solus"; p. 151, II, iii, interlocutors: for "Technophile solus" Newberry reads "Teenophila sola"; *ibid.*, l. [14]: for "agam" Newberry reads "agam"; p. 152, III, iii, 33: Newberry agrees with the MS reading, "reli-giosius" (should we then read "B" for "MS"?); p. 154, IV, i, first gloss: for "aedificiam" Newberry reads "aedificium"; p. 154, IV, iv, 22: on the basis of Newberry add "mox regem] regem mox B." A few other confusing errors, certainly misprints, ought to be noted: p. 47, l. 29: for "o" read "e" (or is the structure of the sentence misleading?); p. 56, I, i, 23: for "guadia" read "gaudia"; p. 59: Josaphat's speech (I, i, 51) is erroneously given to Azarias;

p. 92, III, v, 84: for "facet" read "uacet"; p. 98, IV, ii, 4: for "maximo" read "maxima"; p. 135, commentary on I, ii, 4: for "secene" read "scene"; p. 140, commentary on III, iv, 86-96: for "[suo]" read "suo"; p. 141, commentary on III, v, 87: for "[st] quantum erum ante eo sapientia" read "[st] quantum erum ante eo sapientia"; p. 153, textual note on III, v, 32: after "Scena IIII." insert "B. Gloss:."

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A study in Milton's Christian doctrine. By ARTHUR SEWELL. London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1939. Pp. xiii+214.

Attentive students of Milton are all familiar with Mr. Sewell's studies of the *De doctrina* manuscript and its relation to *Paradise lost*. In 1934 appeared his "Milton's *De doctrina Christiana*" (*Essays and studies by members of the English Association*, XIX, 40-66), and in the next year came a second article "Milton and the Mosaic Law" (*MLR*, XXX, 13-18). In the present book, Mr. Sewell recapitulates, with certain modifications, his earlier arguments and then passes on to an account of Milton's religious evolution from the Nativity ode to the 1673 pamphlet on toleration. According to Mr. Sewell, the *De doctrina* is an unfinished, patchwork document, never conceived as a whole—a treatise begun as an orthodox body of doctrine, but altered, deleted, and amended as Milton's views moved toward heresy. In this evolution, the *De doctrina* passed through three distinct versions. The first was the "Tractate" collected "from the ablest of Divines," which Milton dictated to his pupils during the 1640's. The second, a recension of the "Tractate," was the Picard draft, written ca. 1658-60. At this stage the treatise was still comparatively orthodox, but the future evolution of Milton's views is foreshadowed by his uncertainty about the nature of Christ's death. The third version, the manuscript that we now have, was an unfinished revision of the Picard draft, begun after the composition of the early books of *Paradise lost*. It differs from the second version in that the uncertainty about Christ's death is gone, and the earlier, orthodox views on creation, the Trinity, and the Law are replaced by a doctrine of *creatio ex Deo*, an Arian concept of the Son, and an Antinomian view of the decalogue. Since *Paradise lost* repeats the doubts on Christ's death found in the second version, and since the epic presents a Trinity of manifestation rather than the Arian concept present in the third version, Mr. Sewell argues—and this is his most important conclusion—that it was not the *De doctrina* as we know it today but rather the more orthodox, second version that served as the doctrinal guide for *Paradise lost*.

From these matters, Mr. Sewell passes to a spiritual biography of Milton. The 1640's saw the poet convinced that God had a special mission both for himself and England; but during the closing years of the Commonwealth,

this confidence gave way to doubt. Disturbed into a new questioning of his faith, Milton began the second version of his systematic theology and the composition of his epic; yet neither work brought him assurance: the Picard draft left him with the feeling that his doctrine needed to be reformed after a more accurate model; in *Paradise lost* he speaks with a divided spirit; and the third version of the treatise brought only an intellectual satisfaction. Spiritual comfort was still lacking, and not until *Paradise regained* and *Samson Agonistes* did Milton discover the futility of systems and of outward signs, and serenely conclude that the best was merely to accept and obey.

Much of this volume, as is now obvious, is an impressionistic reading of Milton's writings; and among Miltonists devoted to intuitive criticism, Mr. Sewell deserves an honored position: he is alert, sensitive, and writes with force, plausibility, and ease. But with this type of literary scholarship many persons may not always find themselves in complete accord. I, for one, am not convinced that bad poetry inevitably results from a lack of sincere belief (pp. 112, 114); I distrust *argumenta ex silentio* (p. 11), and I am by no means certain that a twentieth-century critic can intuitively arrive at the innermost, unconscious beliefs of a man dead now almost three centuries (pp. 75, 111). For this reason, therefore, I find it difficult to accept Mr. Sewell's assurance (p. 113) that neither God nor Milton is convinced when God defends himself against the charge of necessitating Adam's fall, or (p. xiii) that what Milton "really believed . . . may be something different" from the doctrine he so painstakingly argued in a 745-page treatise documented with some 7,000 proof texts. And I become doubly skeptical of such assurances when I find that accuracy is not always one of Mr. Sewell's virtues. The *De doctrina* does not express "considerable doubt as to whether the Holy Spirit is a person"¹ (compare p. 100 with XIV, 368, 19-20; 370, 1-4). The passage "Quid . . . est." (quoted p. 21) is not the addition of a later reviser, but appears in Picard's own hand (MS, p. 229); and contrary to Mr. Sewell's statement (p. 23), the paragraph documenting "Israelitis duntaxat" does appear in the Picard draft; the reviser merely added the last ten lines (MS, p. 308a). These inaccuracies are admittedly picayune in character; but they are indicative of more serious faults that vitiate Mr. Sewell's study. The preface to the *De doctrina*, for instance, fails to corroborate Mr. Sewell's belief in a second and third version of the treatise (compare pp. 1-3 with XIV, 7-9, especially 7, lines 17 and 22; 9, lines 5 and 9). *Paradise lost*, III, 245-49, as M. Saurat has already observed (*RES*, XII [1936], 323-24), concerns not the death of Christ in both his natures (p. 31), but rather the death of his soul as well as his body. The addition of "hoc . . . expedire." by no means indicates that the Picard draft was orthodoxy Trinitarian; the sentence is quite possibly only a belated cross-reference (compare pp. 28-29 with XIV, 313-15, 23-1). The passage differentiating Adam from the Son does not imply a theory of

¹ Citations consisting merely of page numbers refer to Mr. Sewell's study; citations containing volume, page, and line numbers refer to the Columbia edition of the *De doctrina*.

creation partly out of nothing, partly out of inert matter; it merely distinguishes two species of God's external efficiency: generation and creation (compare pp. 14-15 with XIV, 179, 19-26; XV, 5, 6-7; 19, 13-14). Mr. Sewell's assertion that the treatise contains contradictory views on the abrogation of the Mosaic Law disregards two qualifying statements that save Milton from the charge of inconsistency (compare pp. 12-13 with XVI, 141-43, 20-1; 143, 11-20). These and other unconsidered interpretations or failures to notice evidence pertinent to the problem make it difficult—to my mind, impossible—to accept Mr. Sewell's belief that the *De doctrina* went through three distinct versions and that the second version differed radically in dogma from the third.

As the preface clearly states, Mr. Sewell's study is not an exhaustive account of the development of Milton's Christian doctrine; it is rather a statement of the way in which that development should be studied. In calling our attention to the *De doctrina* manuscript and its multitude of revisions, Mr. Sewell has rendered a distinct service to Miltonic scholarship; but his attitude toward these revisions I do not consider sound. He is too ready to conclude that manuscript revision implies a change in the author's belief. He has failed to recognize sufficiently that exposition is a difficult art, and that the statement of exactly what one believes may require—particularly in the case of a man who wrote prose with his left hand only—considerable deletion, restatement, and supplementary clarification. As a result, Mr. Sewell has missed what I consider the true state of Milton's religious beliefs between 1658 and 1673; he has failed to see that the later revisions alter in no significant way the dogma present in the Picard draft, that in theological doctrine *Paradise lost* and the treatise show a close accord, and finally, that the *De doctrina* manuscript stood at Milton's death as complete as any manuscript can be said to be complete before it acquires the final rigidity of print.

MAURICE KELLEY

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Ballad opera. By EDMOND MCADOO GAGEY. New York: Columbia University Press, 1937. Pp. xii+259.

The study of ballad opera has hitherto been concerned chiefly with *The beggar's opera*; its one hundred and fifty successors between 1728 and 1750, although listed or briefly treated by Nicoll, Schultz, and others, have been relatively neglected. Individually of no great merit, collectively they are valuable for an understanding of the popular taste and dramatic trends of their day. Mr. Gagey's account of them falls into two divisions. The first is an analysis of the origins of *The beggar's opera* in particular and of ballad opera in general, with an account of its relations to burlesque, *commedia dell'arte*, and political writing. In the four opening chapters he persuasively

demonstrates that the sources of Gay's opera lay already at hand, that Gay happily combined these elements in a fashion which gave the air of novelty, and that in these same tendencies lay the basis for a favorable reception of the new genre. Although many of his points are not new, Mr. Gagey brings them clearly into focus; he offers, in addition, in the influence of the Continental *comédie en vaudevilles* a new and plausible suggestion for the genesis of the form and method of ballad opera. Briefly (pp. 28-33), he points out that the scenes of mixed dialogue in prose and songs, the latter usually to known tunes, which comprised this *opéra comique* offered a pattern for Gay's opera, and suggests that, although documentary proof of Gay's knowledge of the French pieces is lacking, he could have become acquainted with the type either in France or, more likely, by witnessing the *comédies en vaudevilles* presented by the troupes of French performers who acted in London after 1720.

The other six chapters treat by types the ballad operas produced after *The beggar's opera*: "Low-life operas," "Pastoral and village operas," "Farce and intrigue," "Satire and burlesque," "Topical operas: social scandal and politics," and "Other ballad operas: 1728-1800." Here Mr. Gagey gives a summary of the content and nature of nearly every ballad opera—published or unpublished, produced or unacted—about which anything is known and, by including variations upon the original type, suggests the various ways in which ballad opera blended with other dramatic forms. These discussions are often enlightening, yet his method has certain weaknesses. His attempt to comment upon nearly all the operas available leaves the reader feeling that the continuity of the material would have been improved occasionally had Mr. Gagey relegated to footnotes or an appendix more pieces for which he could give only a short paragraph of miscellaneous information. Sometimes in the last two chapters especially he seems hard pressed for anything to say concerning some operas (e.g., *Johnny Bowwow*, p. 166, and *Farewell and return*, p. 212). Some of these comments, too, are not sufficiently unified; the three plays discussed on pages 171-72, for example, are so far apart in subject matter and time that one has a sense of confusion in meeting them grouped together. Again, in his interest in including variations and degenerations of the type, he sometimes fails to let the reader know why certain items have been included. For example, Mrs. Clive's *The rehearsal* (pp. 162-63) is admittedly not a ballad opera at all; he does not make clear just what relationship in form *The queen of Spain* (p. 172) or *Vanelia* (p. 178) has to ballad opera. Nevertheless, Mr. Gagey handles his facts carefully; only one factual error has been noticed: the date of the operatic *Cobbler of Preston* (p. 110) should be January, 1732, not 1731. He also makes his accounts of these obscure and forgotten plays interesting and lively. Particularly he gives one a sense of the vigor of ballad opera at its best and a conception of the ingenuity of its authors in utilizing it for many purposes and for a great variety of subject matter.

Since he has attempted to list, in text or in bibliographies, all the ballad operas of the day, I am including here in chronological order some pieces advertised as ballad operas but not included in his lists. *The escape; or, the jailor outwitted* was announced in the *Universal spectator*, January 17, 1730, for early performance. *The beggar's opera, tragediz'd*, acted at the New Haymarket first on June 3, 1734 (*Daily advertiser*), had the parts of *The beggar's opera* with the following announcement: "All the Characters in Roman Shapes." *The humorous election; or court and country* was first given at the New Haymarket on July 26, 1734 (*Daily advertiser*). Reduced to one act, Fielding's *Don Quixote in England* was offered in Lee's Theatrical Booth, Southwark, during early October, 1734 (*Daily advertiser*, October 7). *Chevy chase, or the conjuror's opera*, announced for the New Haymarket for April 27, 1736 (*Daily advertiser*), could not be given for want of finding proper persons to act certain parts. *The amorous old widow, or I must have a comforter* was given for perhaps two weeks as an interlude within a play at the New Theater by the Pound in Tottenham Court (*Daily advertiser*, August 7, 1736). *Mac-heath turn'd pyrate; or Polly in India* was projected for performance at the New Haymarket on May 30, 1737 (*Daily advertiser*, May 25).

EMMETT L. AVERY

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Letters of William Shenstone. Edited by DUNCAN MALLAM. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1939. Pp. xxvi+475.

For some years study of Shenstone has labored under a difficulty that Mr. Mallam now removes. The letters of Shenstone have hitherto been studied in manuscript sources difficult of access, and in selections published by eighteenth-century editors who left problems of both text and chronology. One scholar after another in the present century, driven back upon the manuscripts by the unreliability and incompleteness of the old editions, has made transcriptions for his own particular purposes. Units of the manuscript correspondence occasionally achieved publication, but as interest in Shenstone grew stronger and studies of him multiplied, the need of a complete edition of his letters became pressing. Miss Marjorie Williams promised one, of which Mr. Mallam says (p. xii) that he "long since reluctantly despaired." He now provides, therefore, something that was badly needed and will be generally welcomed—the first complete edition of Shenstone's letters.

He has brought together two hundred and eighty-four letters, several of them discoveries, nearly one hundred "published as wholes for the first time," and as many as possible of the remainder restored textually from the condition in which eighteenth-century editors left them. The volume is illustrated. Its contents are, in order: an introductory preface by Professor C. A. Moore;

an editor's note, in which the sources of the text are described and the textual policy explained; an introduction, in which the only disappointing passage is that (p. xvi) which voices the now fashionable complaint against Johnson's "almost fatal injustice" to Shenstone; a selected bibliography; a table of contents, in which asterisks might have been used to mark new material; the letters, with footnote annotations that receive comment below; and an index.

Mr. Mallam's main editorial problems were those of text, chronology, and annotation. The text he provides is as complete and authentic as he could make it. The chronology has been the subject of articles by Professor J. E. Wells and J. F. Fullington; these Mr. Mallam follows, without, however, sacrificing his critical independence, or on the other hand beginning a controversy. In the matter of annotation he had more freedom of choice: it is here that his edition invites critical comment, not for what it supplies, but for what it omits.

First, Mr. Mallam's policy in the identification of quotations seems inconsistent. He regularly identifies quotations from Shakespeare, but ignores easily identifiable quotations from the classics. To take other particular instances, he ignores a garbled quotation from Pope's *Essay on criticism* (p. 48); the allusion, needing correction, "My House is a bottomless Pit, as Swift said formerly of the Law" (p. 204); and a quotation from the poem that provided Shenstone with a model for the stanza of his *Pastoral ballad* (p. 6). Second, by the omission of explanatory footnotes in places where they were needed, he has left many passages difficult not merely for the general reader but for the special student: an instance is the paragraph (p. 36) for an understanding of which Mr. Mallam refers us to a number of the *Gentleman's magazine*, and which could easily have been made intelligible. The omission of necessary information is more serious, however, when the information is only available in sources even more difficult of access: Shenstone's references to his "Seventh" elegy (pp. 135 ff.), for an understanding of which it is necessary to consult Lady Luxborough's letters, are a case in point.

These criticisms question Mr. Mallam's judgment in one matter, and do not seriously affect the general value and quality of his work. On the whole, he is to be congratulated.

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Rossetti's "Sister Helen." Edited by JANET CAMP TROXELL. New Haven:
Yale University Press, 1939. Pp. viii+95.

The text of "Sister Helen" appears to have bedeviled Rossetti every time he saw it. Although the first version dates from 1851 or 1852, the poem did not take final form until 1879. In the interim he worked over it a dozen times. Mrs. Troxell modestly states that the chief value of her book lies "in the revelation of exactly when Rossetti made the changes that we know, and the dis-

closure of the fact that he made others that did not survive long enough to appear in any regular edition." A more ambitious claim would be justified. This careful study of the poem is far more useful than the usual type of edition; it is a history of Rossetti's technical skill from the beginning to the end of his career. The literature surrounding the piece presents a rapid poetic biography which in its effect is rather fresh and certainly stimulating.

Mrs. Troxell has assembled in New Haven a remarkable private collection. With the exception of the Tauchnitz edition from Professor Tinker's library, all the books and proofs here collated are in the possession of the editor. Students of Rossetti who have itched to get their hands on the Penkill proofs and the Trial Books will be especially grateful for the numerous reproductions included in this volume. These sample pages, skilfully chosen and handsomely reproduced, include the *Düsseldorf artists' album* (the first printed version), the galley proof of the Fitzwilliam manuscript, the Trial Books with Rossetti's revisions, and manuscript pages from Rossetti's Tauchnitz edition. It was in this Tauchnitz edition that Rossetti made his notes for the new incident he added to the poem in 1879.

The editor has brought together, so far as I know, all the pertinent information concerning "Sister Helen." Her passion for accuracy may well set a new—and much needed—standard in Rossetti scholarship. She frankly confesses her failure to run to earth the source of Rossetti's idea for this bizarre poem. Her discussion serves to illustrate once more our limited knowledge of Rossetti's reading.

I think the importance of this book goes beyond the poem and, indeed, beyond Rossetti's poetry as a topic for study. It presents a new and highly effective method of editing. There have been other editions like it in general plan but none which presented point by point all the available information in brief compass and with complete clarity in chronology. The editorial treatment is at once so simple and so effective that one wonders why it has not been developed before. Congratulations are due not only the editor, but also the staff of the Yale University Press. Since it is the fashion in academic circles to grumble over the cost of most books issuing from our university presses, one is glad to report that this beautiful volume is reasonably priced.

JOHN ALBERT SANFORD

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